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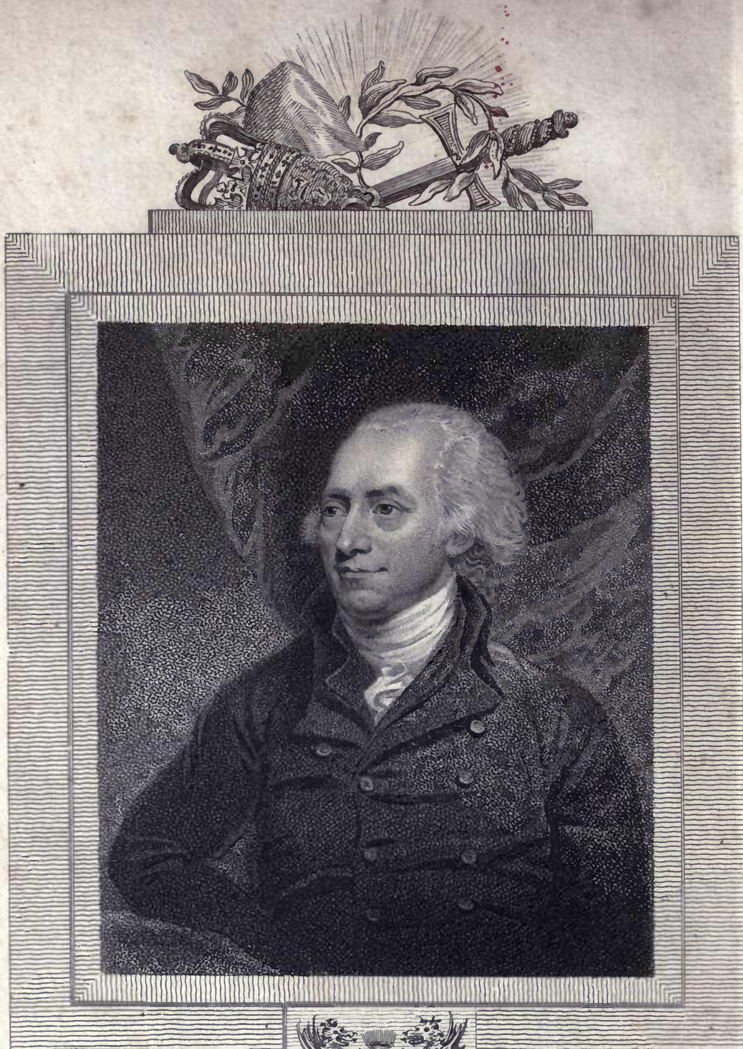

RICHARD CLARK Esq
CHAMBERLAIN of LONDON.

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THE HISTORY AND SURVEY OF LONDON

And its Environs.

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

BY B. LAMBERT,

EDITOR OF BERTHOLLET'S CHEMICAL STATICS; MICHAUX'S TRAVELS
IN AMERICA; VILLIERS'S ESSAY ON THE REFORMATION;
AND VARIOUS OTHER WORKS.

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TO

RICHARD CLARK, Esq.

CHAMBERLAIN OF THE CITY OF LONDON, F. A. S.

VICE PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY

FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF ARTS, MANUFACTURES, &c.

AS A MAN

HOLDING A SITUATION OF HONORABLE TRUST

IN THIS GREAT METROPOLIS,

AND WHO HAS ADDED TO THE DIGNITY OF HIS OFFICE

BY THE

INTEGRITY OF HIS CONDUCT;

THE

New History and Survey of London

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY HIS OBEDIENT, HUMBLE SERVANTS,

THE PROPRIETORS.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS History and Survey of London is offered to the public as an humble attempt to gratify the inquisitive mind on a subject, which, from the connection and influence of the metropolis on even the most remote parts of the British Empire, cannot fail to be interesting to every member of it. To trace the progress of London from rude infancy to its present power and magnificence; to mark the origin and increase of its commerce; to delineate the customs and manners of its inhabitants at various periods, and to show their preponderance at all times in the conduct of the general government of the kingdom, have been the principal objects of the Editor's attention.—In the execution of this task he has omitted nothing interesting in the expensive works of Stowe, Strype, and Maitland; and has collected much valuable information from numerous authentic sources, which do not appear to have been before referred to by writers on London.

In the Survey he has occasionally availed himself of the descriptions of other authors where they have proved correct; but he has not done so without personal examination of the places described.

In the biographical department, which may be considered a new feature in a history of London, he has had recourse to the most correct information he could obtain, and, by diligently comparing different memoirs, has endeavoured to give an accurate sketch of the life of each individual he has selected. But, notwithstanding his utmost attention, he is aware that in an undertaking of this magnitude, some errors may unavoidably have crept in; he, however, trusts none will be found of much importance.

Of the embellishments of the work, he thinks he may be permitted to boast, without the imputation of vanity: with very few exceptions, the engravings have been executed from original drawings, and are highly creditable to the artists employed.

In a word, he flatters himself, his History of London will not be thought undeserving of a continuance of the extensive patronage it has been honoured with during its publication.

London, May 1, 1806.

HISTORY AND SURVEY

OF

London & its Environs.

BOOK I.

PUBLIC TRANSACTIONS OF LONDON, &c.

CHAP. I.

On the Antiquity and original Site of London.

EVERY one acquainted with the early history of Britain, must be aware of the difficulty of tracing the foundation of London, there being no authentic records of that remote period in existence.

The romantic account of Geoffroy of Monmouth, would not deserve to be noticed, were it not to record the implicit belief it had attained in former days; since it appears to have been brought forward by the mayor and aldermen in a memorial laid before King Henry VI. in the seventh year of his reign, to prove "the great antiquity, precedence, and dignity of the city before Rome," &c. This memorial is still to be seen among the records in the Tower.

According to this writer, London was built by Brute, a descendant of Eneas, the son of Venus, and its ancient name was New Troy, afterwards changed to Trinovant, which last name it retained until the time of Lud, who encircled the city with a strong wall, adorned with towers of curious workmanship, and changed its name to Caer-Lud, or Lud's Town. But, as Mr. Wharton judiciously observes, "fabulous histories were the fashion of "his time, and popular traditions a recommenda"tion to his book."

In his endeavours to refute this absurd story, Mr. Maitland seems also to have fallen into an error in denying the existence of London at the first Roman invasion. He contends,* that "if such a place had existed, Cæsar, who was very minute in his descriptions, would scarcely have omitted to notice it, especially as the conquest of a city, so magnificent and impregnable as it is described by Geoffroy, must have redounded greatly to his honour." He therefore concludes from Cæsar's silence, that no such city was then in Britain.

Though this argument must be admitted to have great weight in opposition to the romantic account of its splendour and strength, it is by no means conclusive as to its existence. Mr. Pennant says,† "The Britons soon found the danger of living in families separated and undefended; they sought security in places surrounded with woods or morasses; and added to the natural strength by forming ramparts and sinking fosses. But they preferred spots fortified by nature; and made artificial works only where nature was deficient. Within such precincts they formed their towns; their buildings were most mean and simple, covered with reeds or sticks, like American wigwams, or like the modern hovels of the peasants of Lochaber, or the cabins of the Irish commonalty, to this moment as rude as the British aborigines. To these precincts the Britons resorted with their wives and children, whom they left thus protected, while they sallied out to war, or to the employments of the chase: for their cloathing was the skins of beasts, and their food the flesh, with the addition of milk and farinaceous diet. The Britons soon became acquainted with one great use of the cow, notwithstanding they remained ignorant of the making of cheese till the arrival of the Romans. Agriculture was soon introduced among those who earliest formed towns or communities; possibly by strangers who visited them from the continent. They cleared the land in the neighbourhood of their dwellings; they sewed corn; they reaped and deposited it in granaries under ground; as the Sicilians practise to this very day: but the latter lodged it in the grain, our predecessors in the ear, out of which they picked the grains as they wanted them; and, ignorant of mills, at first bruised, and then made them into a coarse bread. The same nation who taught them the art of agriculture, first introduced a change of dress. From the Gauls of the continent, they received the first cloth; the dress called the Bracha, a coarse woollen manufacture. But probably it was long before they learnt the use of the loom, or became their own manufacturers. This intercourse laid the foundation of commerce, which in early times extended no further than to our maritime places. They first received the rudiments of civilization, while the more remote remained, in proportion to their distance, more and more savage, or in a state of nature. In the same degree as the neighbouring Gauls became acquainted with the arts, they communicated them to the nearest British colonists; who, derived from the same stock, and retaining the same language and manners, were more capable and willing to receive any instructions offered by a generous people. For this reason, Cantium, the modern Kent, and probably the country for some way up the Thames, was, as Cæsar informs us, far the most civilized of any part of Britain: and that the inhabitants differed very little in their manner of life from the Gauls. It was from the merchants who frequented our ports, he received the first intelligence of the nature of our country, which induced him to undertake the invasion of Britain, and which in aftertimes laid the foundation of its conquest by the Romans."

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* History of London, Book I. Chap. I.

† Of London, pp. 1, 2, 3.

"*There is not the least reason to doubt but that* LONDON *existed at that period, and was a place of much resort.* It stood in such a situation as the Britons would select, according to the rule they established. An immense forest originally extended to the river side, and, even as late as the reign of Henry II. covered the northern neighbourhood of the city, and was filled with various species of beasts of chase. It was defended naturally by fosses; one formed by the creek which ran along Fleet-ditch, the other afterwards known by that of Walbrook. The south side was guarded by the Thames. The north they might think sufficiently guarded by the adjacent forest."

Mr. Pennant supports this account of our predecessors by quotations from the writings of Cæsar, Strabo, Tacitus, and Diodorus Siculus, among the Romans, and of our historian Fitzstephen: yet in some respects it is rather contradictory. For instance, after stating them to be nearly, or altogether, as rude and uncivilized as the most untutored savages, he calls them colonists from Gaul, with the same language and manners: and while he describes their habitations as wigwams, he speaks of their ramparts, fosses, and artificial works. It is undoubtedly true that such rude habitations, and such uninformed inhabitants did exist in Britain at the time, but it does not follow that this was the case generally; had it been so, the Romans, who were the most skilful warriors of that age, would not have experienced so many checks as they met with wherever they attempted to extend their arms, which often succeeded more by the want of concert among the natives than by their want of courage or skill. Even his own conclusion, that "London was a place of much resort," must imply a degree of civilization far beyond what he seems disposed to allow its inhabitants.

This was also the opinion of Sir Christopher Wren, who, speaking of the foundation of London, which he also attributes to the Britons, says,* "To have a right idea of London of old, it will be necessary to consider the state of the Britons at the time the Romans made their first descent on the island: and surely we cannot reasonably think them so barbarous, at least in that age (and the accounts before that are too fabulous), as is commonly believed. Their manner of fighting was in chariots, like the ancient heroes of Greece, in the Trojan war, and occasionally on foot, with such good order and discipline, as much embarrassed the Roman legions, and put a stop to the progress of the invincible Cæsar, who could do nothing great, nor conquer any part; but, says Tacitus, only showed the country to the Romans; and, according to *Lucan*, was obliged shamefully to retreat:—

"*Territa quæsitus ostendit terga Britannis.*

"The Britons went to sea in vessels covered with hides, for they wanted pitch: they traded chiefly with the Gauls; and certainly the principal emporium, or town of trade, to which the Gallic ships resorted, *must be* LONDON, though situated far up the country; yet most commodiously accessible by a noble river, among the thickest inhabitants; taking its name (according to some derivations) from the old British term of Ship-hill, or otherwise a Harbour of Ships."

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* Parentalia, p 264

From this name, which is compounded of the British words *lhong* "a ship," and *din* "a town," that is a town or harbour for ships; or, according to others, of *Llin* "a lake," *i. e. Lin-din*, "the town of the lake;" the Surrey side having been anciently a great expanse of water, is derived the Roman Londinium, or Lundinium; as we find it in Tacitus and some other Roman historians, and our London.

At the time of Cæsar's arrival, it was, very probably, the capital of the *Trinobantes*, or *Trinouantes*, a people who had newly come into Britain from the continent, and had founded a city, called *Trinow*, or the "New City;" the most ancient name of the metropolis of Britain, from which, according to Baxter,* the name of its inhabitants was derived.

Speaking of this people, Dr. Henry says,† "The Trinobantes had come so lately from Belgium, that they seem scarcely to have been firmly established in Britain at the time of the first Roman invasion: for their new city, which soon after became so famous, was then so inconsiderable, that it is not mentioned by Cæsar, though he must have been within sight of the place where it is situated. His silence about this place is, indeed, brought as a proof that he did not cross the Thames; while

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* British Glossary, p. 230

† History of Great Britain, vol. 1.

Norden, by the *firmissima civitas* of the Trinobantes, understands the city in question, the Trinobantes themselves having been among the first who submitted to the conqueror.

"By Ptolemy, and some other ancient writers of good authority, indeed, Londinium is placed in Cantium, or Cent, on the south side of the Thames; and it is the opinion of some moderns, that the Romans probably had a station there; to secure their conquests on that side of the river, before they reduced the Trinobantes. The place fixed upon for this station is St. George's Fields, a large plat of ground situated between Lambeth and Southwark, where many Roman coins, bricks, and checquered pavements have been found."

Without wasting time in the discussion of this exploded question, it will be sufficient to observe here that it is now established beyond dispute, that the site of London always was on the north side of the Thames, and that the place where it is asserted to have stood originally, on the south side, was an extensive marsh or lake, reaching as far as Camberwell hills, until, by drains and embankments, the Romans recovered all the low lands about St. George's Fields, Lambeth, &c.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

State of London at the Time of the first Roman Invasion under Julius Cæsar.—Is taken by Claudius, and constituted a Prefecture.—State of its early Commerce.—Its Destruction by Boadicea.—The Roman Boundaries.—When first walled in.—Establishment of a Mint.—When it became a Bishop's See.—End of the Roman Dominion.

It is evident from the submission of the Trinobantes to Cæsar, as mentioned above, that he must have been in possession of London, such as it then was; and it is highly probable that his having obtained that part of Britain without a contest, was the reason that he did not find himself urged by his "love of glory;" or by the "honour" he might have acquired by the conquest of their capital, to boast of his success. Indeed, from his description of a British town, such a place could not have been deserving of his notice, unless it had afforded him an occasion to speak of some military exploit. He says,* "The *Britons* call a thick wood, enclosed with a rampart and a ditch, a town, to which they retire for the security of themselves and cattle against an invading enemy:" But this alludes to towns or forts of defence; for Whitaker proves that the British towns served as habitations for the Roman colonists, in the state they found them.

Mr. Maitland† seems to have fallen into a singular error, in supposing that Cassivelaun, after his defeat, should have "retreated to the impregnable city of *Trinovantum*, if there had been any such place." He must have forgotten that in his quotation from Cæsar's Commentaries, it is expressly stated that the Trinobantes, one of the most considerable states of the Britons, had submitted to Cæsar to obtain his protection from Cassivellaun's insults, and consequently, that their capital was a very unlikely place for his retreat, since it must have been under the controul, if not in the immediate possession of the Romans. This may also be assigned as a reason why, when Cæsar "forced the River *Thames* and lines of *Cassivellaun*," he crossed it above London, at a place which Mr. Maitland* has pointed out as being "ninety feet west of the south-west angle of Chelsey College Garden," though others describe it as being at Cowey-stakes, near Chertsey. To this may be added, that before his return to Gaul, Cæsar appointed the annual tribute which the Britons were to pay the Romans, and strictly enjoined Cassivellaun not to molest the Trinobantes nor their King Mandubratius.

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* De Bell. Gall. lib. v.

† History of London, Book 1, Chap. 1.

From this period until the time of Claudius, it appears to have been the Roman policy not to extend their conquests in Britain. Camden, in his Britannia, observes, that Augustus seemed purposely, and from good advice, to have neglected Britain, and that Tiberius followed the opinion of Augustus, and kept the empire within its bounds, but Caligula, in consequence of the representations of Adminius, the son of Cinobellinus †, who had been banished by his father, determined upon subduing the remainder of the Island. His attempt proved abortive, and is ludicrously described by Camden ‡. "After this, to the ocean he marcheth, as if he minded to translate the warre over into Britaine:

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* Hist. of Lond. Book 1. Chap. 2.

† His British name was Cynvelyn, pronounced Cunvelyn.

‡ Holland's Camden. p. 40.

where even upon the very shore he embattelled his souldiers: himself took sea in a galley, and after he had launched out a little way from the land, returned again, and then mounting up a high pulpit, sate him downe, gave his souldiers the signall of battell, and commanded the trumpets to sound: and so on a sudden charged them to gather cockles, muskles, and other small shell-fishes." It is to be regretted that from the want of minuteness in the historian, it cannot now be ascertained whether Boulogne was the scene of these exploits.

This neglect of Britain by the Romans, causes a chasm in the History of London of ninety years duration. At length, in the year 43, they made a more effectual invasion of Britain, in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, who, in the year following, coming in person, vanquished and took Cinobellinus prisoner, in his residence of Camalodunum, or Malden, in Essex.

Mr. Pennant,* says, "It seems certain that *London* and *Verulam* were taken possession of about the same time; but the last claims the honor of being of a far earlier date; more opulent, populous, and a royal seat before the conquest of *Britain*. *Camalodunum* was made a *Colonia*, or a place governed entirely by *Roman* laws and customs; *Verulamium*, a *Municipiun*, in which the natives were honored with the privileges of *Roman* citizens, and enjoyed their own laws and constitutions; and *Londinium*, only a *Præfectura*, the inhabitants, a mixture of *Romans* and *Britons*, being suffered to enjoy no more than the name of citizens of *Rome*, being governed by *Præfects* sent annually from thence, without having either their own laws or magistrates. It was even then of such concourse, and such vast trade, that the wise conquerors did not think fit to trust the inhabitants with the same privileges as other places, of which they had less reason to be jealous." But others observe that this is a mistake; and that the Romans, in order to secure their conquest, and to gain the affections of those Britons, who had already submitted to their authority, made London equally a municipium, or free city, with Verulam, as may be seen by referring to Aulus Gellius, Lib. 16, c. 13; and to Spanham, orbis Roman. Tom. ii. pp. 37, 38.

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* Of London, p. 4.

The first Roman historian who notices London, appears to have been Tacitus, who lived some time in it, about fifty years after this invasion. He calls it "*Londinium, copia negotiatorum et commeatu maxime celeberrimum.*" London, famous for its many merchants, and the abundance of its provisions. This indicates that London was at that time of some antiquity as a trading town.

It is difficult to say what were the particular articles of commerce exported from, and imported into, the port of London at this time. Strabo says*, "Britain produceth corn, cattle, gold, silver, iron; besides which, skins, slaves, and dogs, naturally excellent hunters, are exported from that island." It is probable that the two first, and the three last articles were exported from London; and perhaps the *gagates* or jet-stone, by which is perhaps meant coal, mentioned by Solinus, as one of the productions of Britain, together with horses, were exported from thence. "The imports † were at first salt, earthen ware, and works in brass, polished bits of bones emulating ivory, horse-collars, toys of amber, glasses, and other articles of the same materials. About the year 64, Suetonius Paulinus, the Roman

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[*] Lib. iv. p. 265.

[†] Ib. p. 307.

general, being employed in the conquest of the Isle of Anglesea, in North Wales, received intelligence of the revolt of the Britons, who had flocked in great numbers from all parts to join Boadicea, Queen of the Iceni, who inhabited the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Huntingdon, and Cambridge, He advanced with all speed to London, but finding himself unequal to its defence with his small army, he evacuated it to the fury of the enemy, after reinforcing his troops with all the natives who were fit to serve. The enraged Boadicea destroyed all who remained behind, without regard to age or sex, and burnt the place. Camalodunum had previously shared the same fate, and Verulam speedily followed. In these three places seventy thousand of the inhabitants, Romans and Britons, are stated to have perished*; of which number, Mr. Maitland, on account of the great commerce of London, estimates one-half as belonging to it. In support of this opinion, he observes†, "that the mighty Romans, its founders, upon their settling a *Colony*, *Municipium*, or *Emporium*, brought together great numbers of their own citizens, for whom they erected houses; and by endowing the place with ample privileges and immunities, encouraged the natives, as well as confederate foreigners, to settle therein; so that it is not in the least to be admired at, especially with such an advantageous situation, that *London* should, in so short a space of time, become so populous."

If Mr. Maitland had not been so resolutely bent upon refusing any share in the foundation of London to the Britons, he would not have been reduced to the necessity of this argument. Cæsar‡ assigns as a reason for attempting the island, the vast supplies which it yielded to his enemies in Gaul, and which interrupted his conquests on the continent. Now there is every reason to suppose that the local advantages of London had rendered it a place of considerable trade at that period; and, as nothing had occurred to prevent it, in the interval, between Cæsar's invasion, and the destruction of it by Boadicea, it followed, as a necessary consequence, that its population increased with its commerce; and that the *restraints* imposed upon it by the Romans, as has been noticed above, were unable to counteract this influence. His pertinacity, in this respect, is the more astonishing, since he immediately quotes the *Vindiciæ Britanniæ* of Mr. Owen, who shows, from *Tacitus*, that it was not dignified by the Romans with the name of a colony; and, as it is certain, that it remained only a præfecture, the privileges and immunities he speaks of must have existed only in his own imagination.

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* Tac. ann. lib. xiv. c. 3.
† Book 1, chap. 3.
‡ Bell. Gall. lib. 4.

But to return, it was not long before London recovered from this dreadful catastrophe, and increased so much, that Herodian, in his life of the Emperor Severus, who reigned from 193 to 211, calls it a great and wealthy city.

When the Romans became masters of London, they enlarged the precincts and altered their form. It extended east and west, from Ludgate to Tower Hill, and in breadth, north and south, from the causeway, near Cheapside, to the river.

Its northern boundary was accidentally discovered by Sir C. Wren*, in digging for the new foundation of St. Mary-le-bow, after the great fire in 1666, the steeple of which now stands upon an old Roman causeway, of four feet in thickness, formed of rough stone, close and well rammed with Roman brick and rubbish at the bottom, for a foundation, and all firmly cemented.

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* Parentalia, page 265.

That its western extremity did not extend beyond Ludgate, may be inferred from a sepulchral monument having been dug up, about the same time, on the spot where Ludgate Church is situated, of which Sir C. Wren gives the following account:[*] "On the west side of the causeway was situated the *Prætorian* Camp, which was also walled into *Ludgate*, in the *Vallum* of which was dug up, near the gate, after the fire, a stone, with an inscription and figure of a *Roman* soldier: a Sepulchral Monument, dedicated to the memory of *Vivius Mancianus*, a soldier of the second legion, stiled *Augusta*, by his wife, *Januaria Matrina*." This stone is still preserved at the Theatre of Oxford. From this circumstance no doubt can remain with respect to the western boundary, since, by the tenth table[†] of the Roman law, it is expressly forbidden to bury in cities, in these words, "Let no body be interred, or burnt within the City;" and, it is admitted by all writers on the manners of the Romans, that this law was observed with great strictness.

The time at which the wall was built is very uncertain. Maitland ascribes the work to Theodosius, governor of Britain in 369. Dr. Woodward and Mr. Pennant, with more probability, suppose that Constantine the Great was the founder; and this seems to be confirmed by the number of coins of his mother Helena, which have been discovered under them, having been placed there by him in compliment to her. Mr. Pennant says,[‡] "To support this conjecture, we may strengthen it by saying, that, in honour of this empress, the city, about that time, received from her the title of *Augusta*, which, for some time, superseded the ancient one of *Londinium*."

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[*] Parentalia, l. c.
[†] De Jure Sacro.
[‡] Of London, page 7.

From some of the coins of this Emperor, it is evident that he had established a mint in London, and it is supposed by many, that he also erected it into a bishop's see, because it appears that the bishops of London and York, and another English bishop, probably of Caerleon, now Chester, were at a Council held at Arles, in the year 314, against the schism of the Donatists. But there can be no doubt of its having been a bishop's see much earlier, since Camden, in treating of the division of Britain, says,* "Whereas, therefore, Britaine had, in old time, three Archbishops, to wit, of *London*, of *York*, and *Caerleon*, in South Wales. I suppose that the province, which now we call of Canterbury (for thither the see of London was translated), made *Britannia Prima:* Wales, under the citie of *Caerleon* (Chester) was *Britannia Secunda:* and the province of York, which then reached unto the limit or borders, made *Maxima Cæsariensis*." Now Lucius, on whose authority he grounds this fact, was Pope in 252 and 253. It is therefore certain, that Christianity was introduced into Britain much earlier than the time of Augustine the Monk, who converted the Saxons, and is said by Maitland and others, to have constituted Mellitus the first bishop of the East Saxons, whose capital, London at that time was, though perhaps during the period in which the provincial Britons were overrun, and almost extirpated by the Scots and Picts, it might have fallen into decay, from which it was not likely to recover, during the domination of the Saxons, previous to their conversion in 600; a period of 150 years.

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* Holland's Camden, page 155.

Little is known of the state of commerce during the period of the Roman Government, except what is found in Strabo; but it appears that the mechanical arts were in so much greater perfection in Britain than in Gaul, that the Emperor Constantius, who succeeded Constantine the Great, gave special directions that the ruined cities of the latter, as well as the fortresses upon the Rhine, should be repaired by British architects and artificers.

It may not be considered as wholly foreign to the subject, to notice that the rival capital of Paris was not mentioned in history until the year 357, in which year Julian, afterwards surnamed the Apostate, then Governor of Gaul, under Constantius, took up his winter quarters at Paris, which, at that time, was a castle on an island in the Seine.

It is not correctly ascertained in what year the Romans abandoned Britain; some place it in 422, others as late as 437; but the greater number of Chronologers, and among them Mr. Playfair, make this event to have happened in 426.

CHAP. III.

CHAP. III.

State of London under the Saxon and Danish Governments. Foundation of Westminster Abbey.—Ecclesiastical History of London, under the Saxons.—Is several times burnt by accident.—Destroyed by the Danes.—Retaken and Rebuilt by Alfred.—State of Commerce during his reign.—The City divided into Wards.—First Buildings of Brick and Stone.—Allowed to coin.—Bravery of the Londoners.—St. Paul's burnt and rebuilt.—Toll to be taken at Billingsgate.—Germans of the Steel-yard.—Comes under the Danish Dominion.—First Coronation in London.—Canute's Canal round it.—First Members to a Parliament.—Dreadful Famine.—Westminster Abbey Rebuilt.

AFTER the Romans had deserted Britain, a new and fierce race succeeded. The warlike Saxons, under their leaders, Hengist and Horsa, landed in 448, in the Isle of Thanet, having been invited over by the provincials, as auxiliaries against the Scots and Picts; but quarrelling with their friends they found means to establish themselves in the island, and, in process of time, entirely subdued them. The Britons, however, remained masters of London at least nine years after that event; for, receiving a defeat in 457, at Creceanford, Crayford in Kent, they fled in great precipitation to this city, at that period denominated Lunden Byrig.

At this time Vortigern was king of the southern division of Britain, under whom the Britons continued the war. Hengist, finding himself unable to obtain a decisive advantage over them in the field, had recourse to treachery. Under pretence of concluding a peace, and renewing his ancient friendship with the British Monarch, he solicited an interview, at which 300 of the British nobility were treacherously massacred, and the king himself made prisoner, and put in fetters; nor could his liberty be procured but by ceding to the Saxons, the provinces of Essex, Middlesex, and Sussex. About this time London became the chief city of the Saxon kingdom of Essex.

It suffered greatly in the wars carried on between the Britons and Saxons, but soon recovered, so that Bede calls it *Multorum Emporium Populorum;* an emporium or mart of many nations. It was under the government of a chief magistrate, whose title of *Portgrave*, or *Portreve*, conveys a grand idea of the mercantile state of London, which, in those early ages, required a governor or guardian of the port.

On the conversion of a considerable number of the Saxons to Christianity, Augustine, the Monk, by order of Pope Gregory, was ordained Archbishop of England, in the year 600,[*] by Etherius, Archbishop of Arles, in France; he ordained Mellitus, Bishop of the East Saxons, who, in 610, had a Cathedral Church, dedicated to St. Paul, erected for him, in London, the capital of East Saxony, by Ethelbert, King of Kent.[†]

At this time the city of Canterbury, as being the residence of Ethelbert, to whom all the southern nations of the Saxons were vassals, appears to have been dignified with the title of the Metropolis.

In the year 605, or according to other authors, in 610, Sebert, King of the East Saxons, built a church or minster in the island of Thorney, situated to the west of London, which, at the desire of Bishop Mellitus, was dedicated to St Peter; but, according to Stow,* it was founded in 614, by Mellitus, with the assistance of King Ethelbert. It was, however, destroyed soon after by the Danes.

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[*] Bed. Hist. Eccles.

[†] Stow's Survaie, lib. 3, page 131,

Sebert was succeeded by his three sons, Sexred, Seward, and Sigbert, who, during the life of their father, professed themselves Christians; but, after his death, which happened about 616, they publicly returned to Paganism, and expelled Mellitus their dominions: and though the conversion of Eadbald, King of Kent, their sovereign, obtained that good Bishop's recall to his See, the Londoners, who chose to live in their Pagan superstition, would not admit him.

The civil history of the Heptarchy is so very defective, that the city of London is not mentioned from the year 616 to 764; but of its ecclesiastical history we have the following particulars.

After the expulsion of Mellitus, the See of London remained without a Bishop, till the year 653, when Sigbert, King of the East Saxons, embracing the christian religion, Cedda, or Chad, was advanced to the Bishopric of this city.

In 666,† Wulpher, who acted as he pleased in the kingdom of Essex, gave the first instance of Simony in England, by selling the Bishopric of London to Wina, who had been driven from Winchester. He governed the church of Essex till his death, in 675.

After the decease of Wina, the bishopric of this city was given to Erkenwald, son of Offa, King of the East Angles, who had been educated under Mellitus, the first bishop of London.

Erkenwald was so distinguished by the sanctity of his life, and by several religious foundations, that after his death, which happened at Barking, in Essex, the canons of St. Paul's and the monks of Chertsey, or, according to Rapin, of Barking, disputed the possession of his body: but the inhabitants of London, espousing the side of the canons, took away the remains of the bishop, and caused them to be honourably interred in his own cathedral, the revenues of which he had augmented, and enlarged its buildings.

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* Survaie, lib. 6.

† Tindal's Rapin, vol. 1. book 3.

Erkenwald was succeeded by Walter, or Waldhere, in the reign of King Sebbi, who, being wearied with the cares of a crown, acquainted the bishop with his resolution to abdicate, and to assume the monastic life: he accordingly passed through the forms of a recluse; and having received the habit from Waldhere, he gave that ecclesiastic a considerable sum of money, to be applied to the purposes of charity, and continued the monastic life ever after.

In the year 764 London suffered very considerably by fire; some time after which, in 798, it was almost wholly burnt down; and the streets being very narrow, and the houses built of wood, numbers of its inhabitants perished in the flames: nor was it rebuilt before many of the new houses were destroyed by a third conflagration, which happened in 801.

During the civil wars of the Saxons with each other, the Londoners had always the address to keep themselves neuter; and when the seven Saxon kingdoms fell under the power of Egbert, London appears to have become the metropolis of England, which it has ever since continued: but Mr. Pennant says that it was made the capital of all England by Alfred.

In the year 833, Egbert, King of the West Saxons, Ethelwolf, his son, Withlaf, King of Mercia, together with most of the bishops, and other great men of the realm, assembled at London, where they held a Witena-gemot, or Parliament, in which they deliberated on the most effectual measures to be pursued, to prevent the invasions of the piratical Danes.

Notwithstanding all their precautions, it was not long before London severely felt the effects of Danish cruelty; for, arriving with a large fleet of ships on the coast of Kent, they landed, and having destroyed Rochester and Canterbury, they marched to this city, which they sacked, and with a horrid rage of barbarity, murdered most of its inhabitants. This happened in the year 839.

Flushed with the success of this and several other attempts, the Danes entertained serious thoughts of making a complete conquest of the whole island.

With this view, they, in 851, shipped a large army on board a fleet of three hundred and fifty sail, landed near London, which they soon reduced and plundered; and thinking it a proper fortress, from which they might make incursions into the kingdom of the West Saxons, they placed a large garrison therein; and, notwithstanding the most solemn oaths and treaties with King Alfred, they made perpetual inroads among the neighbouring states, which they robbed and harrassed with the most unrelenting rage of diabolical fury.

There is not any certainty respecting the time or cause of the separation of London from the kingdom of Essex. Rapin notices, that, in 872, it was in subjection to Mercia, where it has continued ever since, as part of Middlesex.

In 879, the Danes, notwithstanding they had concluded a peace with Alfred, made preparations for further inroads; to accomplish which, a Danish fleet came up the Thames, under one Hæsten, and wintered at Fulham, but being disappointed of the assistance they expected, they returned in the following spring.

Alfred resolved to punish these infractors of the most solemn treaties, repaired all his old fortresses, erected new ones; and, in 884, laying siege to London, attacked that city with so much bravery, that the Danes were glad to capitulate, after a very faint resistance.

As soon as Alfred had thus possessed himself of London, he began to rebuild its walls, towers, and gates, which had been almost destroyed by the Danes; and having driven out the Danish inhabitants who had settled there, he bestowed the government of the city on Ethelred, Duke of Mercia, who had married his daughter Ethelfleda, in hopes that it would afford him a secure retreat against both his foreign and domestic enemies.

It appears to be evident that Ethelred was vested with powers superior to those of an ordinary governor; and it is probable that he held this city in fee, because, on his decease, Ethelfleda delivered it, with the city of Oxford, up to her brother, which, if her husband had been only an ordinary governor, she need not have done, since they would of course have fallen to her brother Edward, as heir to his father Alfred.

The ambition of conquering this kingdom still predominating in the breasts of the Danes, they were perpetually hovering about the coast of England, and at length, under the conduct of their general, Hæsten, landed in considerable numbers on the coast of Essex, a little below Tilbury; and having erected a fort or castle at Beamfleote, now Southbemfleet, near the Isle of Canvey, they made perpetual excursions into the adjacent country, committing great depredations wherever they went.

Hereupon Alfred dispatched Ethelred the governor of London, with a number of regular troops, which, being joined by a large body of the citizens, drove the ravaging Danes back to the castle, to which they laid siege, and took it and a very rich booty, at the same time making prisoners of the wife and sons of the Danish General Hæsten, whom they conducted to London.

On this occasion the citizens distinguished themselves in such a manner, as evinced at once their great courage and loyalty.

On the approach of winter, another body of Danes, who had waited the success of their countrymen at the Island of Mærisige, or Mersey, at the mouth of the Coln, thought it prudent to retire with their fleet to a place of greater security; whereupon they sailed up the River Thames and entering Lea river, at the place now called Bow Creek, and passing up the river in their small vessels to the distance of twenty miles or upwards, erected a fortification at or near the site of the present town of Hertford, which gave the Londoners great uneasiness. The citizens, in conjunction with the neighbouring auxiliaries, marched out against them, early in the spring, with the brave Alfred at their head, but where repulsed in an attack upon their works, with considerable loss, leaving four of their chief officers dead on the spot. Wherefore, Alfred, apprehending he should run too great a risk in renewing the attack, disposed of his army in the most convenient posts, to cut off all supplies of provisions for the enemy by land, and diverted the current of the river Lea into three channels, to reduce the depth of the water, and prevent the return of their fleet to the Thames.

The Danes finding themselves thus cooped up, and their ships rendered useless, broke up their camp, deserted their fort, and marched off to the banks of the Severn: whereupon, the citizens demolished their works; and, having restored the navigation of the river Lea, brought several of the best of the enemy's ships to London, and destroyed the remainder. At the erecting of the present Stanstead Bridge, some of the remains of these vessels were discovered.

Historians acquaint us that, about the year 886, Alfred caused many ships to be built, and he let them, and money also, out to merchants, who traded to the East Indies, and brought from thence precious stones, &c. some of which remain still in the most ancient crown, wherewith Alfred and his successors were wont to be crowned. But this traffic, says Rapin, could be no farther than the Levant, in which it is more than probable he judges right. Others say, that those ships sailed to Alexandria, and from thence their people, passing over the Isthmus, went down the Red Sea, to the coasts of Persia, &c. and this opinion seems to be countenanced by what William of Malmsbury relates of Sighelm, Bishop of Sherborn, who, being sent by Alfred to Rome with presents for the Pope; afterwards travelled as far as the town of St. Thomas, in India, now called Meliapour, with gifts for the Christians there, from that King, to whom he brought from thence precious stones and spices; some of which remained in the cathedral church of Sherborne in Dorsetshire, at the time in which he wrote.

In the reign of Alfred, London began to recover from its former ruinous state. In 893, however, he had the mortification to see his capital reduced to ashes by an accidental fire, which, from the houses being at that time built of wood, could not be extinguished: but the walls being constructed of incombustible materials, withstood the destructive element. In the same year the Danes made another attempt upon London, by sending one division of their fleet up the Thames, while a descent was made in Kent by another; but Alfred having built vessels longer, and higher out of the water, than those of the Danes, some of which had forty oars, and a kind of half deck, they were discomfited, and compelled to retire.

It is not, certainly, known what the civil government of London was at this time, but it was probably during this reign that the city was divided into wards and precincts, for its better order and government. The Saxon Chronicle says,* "The King, moved by the importance of the place, and the desire of strengthening his frontier against the Danes, restored it to its ancient splendor: and, observing that, through the confusion of the times, many, both Saxons and Danes, lived in a loose and disorderly manner, without owning any government, he offered them now a comfortable establishment, if they would submit and become his subjects. This proposition was better received than he expected, for multitudes, grown weary of a vagabond kind of life, joyfully accepted such an offer."

There is also great reason to suppose that the office of sheriff, or as it was called in the Saxon language, Shire-reive was instituted by Alfred, but there is no record remaining by which this fact can be ascertained with respect to the Sheriff of London.

After the fire mentioned above, the opulent Londoners, emulating the example of their king, whose palaces were constructed of brick and stone, built their houses of stronger and more durable materials; and the nobility, resident in and about London, followed the example, though the custom did not come into general use till some ages after.

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* Chron. Sax. p. 88.

In the year 924, King Athelstan was crowned at Kingston-upon-Thames. Dr. Howell says, "That this remove was not so much in respect to London, which, for opulence and multitude of inhabitants, had not been, during these Saxon times, so considerable, and had also sustained great calamities by fire, as to the invasions of the Danes, which were frequently made up the river Thames; and also to be nearer to the East Angles, amongst whom those rovers had fixed themselves: for the same reason, three of the Kings, his successors, Edred, Edwi, and Ethelred, were crowned, and probably often resided there; whereby it got the name of Kingstowne."

There must probably have been, at this time, but very little, if any, maritime commerce from England to the countries within the Mediterranean Sea; since, in King Athelstan's reign, in the year 925, that wise prince, for the promoting the commerce of his subjects, enacted a law, "That every merchant who made three voyages to that sea, on his own account, should be raised to honour, and enjoy the privileges of a gentleman." This law was passed in a great convention of the church and state held at London, wherein many important regulations, for the good government of the kingdom, were resolved upon.

According to Sir Henry Spelman's and Wilkins's Saxon laws, King Athelstan appointed mints for the coinage of money to be at the following places, viz. London to have eight mints; Canterbury seven; Rochester three; Winchester six; Lewes, Southampton, Exeter, Shaftsbury, and

Wareham, two each; and every other great town one each.

Constantine, King of Scotland, having invaded Northumberland in the year 938, Athelstan marched against him with a powerful army, and coming up with him at Brunanburgh, or Brumsbury, a terrible battle ensued, which continued from morning till night, when Constantine being slain, victory declared in favour of the English.

To the intrepid valour of the Londoners, under the command of their brave general, Turketul, this great conquest was chiefly owing; for their behaviour was valiant beyond description.

The palace of King Athelstan (or Adelstan) was situated in Adle-street, near Aldermanbury, which, from his residing there, is called King-Adle-street, in some of our ancient records. The church of St. Alban, in Wood-street, is supposed to have been founded by this monarch.

In the year 940, King Edmund succeeded his brother Athelstan; and, in the year 945, he held a Witena-gemote, or parliament, in London.

Edmund, who was murdered in the year 946, left two sons, minors, who, by the intrigues of Dunstan, usually called St. Dunstan, confessor to their uncle Edred, were set aside in favour of that prince: but on the death of Edred, in the year 955, Edwy, the eldest son of Edmund, was advanced to the throne.

Edwy departing this life in the year 959, was succeeded by his brother Edgar, during whose reign, great numbers of foreigners, attracted by the report of the king's great abilities and wise administration, resorted to London, bringing with them many vices and ill habits, and particularly that of drunkenness, which at length became so excessive that Edgar made a law to restrain that vice, in which it was ordained that within every drinking cup there should be pins fixed at certain distances, and if any person presumed to drink beyond the mark, he should be liable to pay a penalty.

In the year 961, land sold for no more than one shilling an acre. In the same year, a dreadful malignant fever raged in the city of London, destroying great numbers of its inhabitants: and St. Paul's cathedral was destroyed by fire.

If this church was rebuilt in the same year, as is related by divers historians, it must be a clear proof of the meanness of our public buildings in those times, and favours the opinion of Maitland, that it was only a small timber building.

By the eighth and last of King Edgar's laws, it was enacted, "That one and the same money "should be current throughout his dominions," so that the king's own coin alone was to be received: yet the practice of private mints was not wholly suppressed until long after the Norman conquest. Another wise part of this law was, that the Winchester measure should be the general standard.

King Ethelred, who began his reign in 979, and died in 1016, made laws*, at Wantage, for the regulation of the customs, on ships, and merchandize, to be paid at Blynesgate, or Billingsgate, in the port of London, then the only quay. They were as follows:

"1. A small vessel arriving there was to pay "one halfpenny for toll.

"2. If a greater one, bearing sails, one penny.

"3. For a keele, or hulk, being a long and large "capacious sort of a vessel, four pence.

"4. Out of a ship laden with wood, one piece "for toll.

"5. A boat with fish, one halfpenny, and a bigger boat, one penny.

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* Dr. Howell's Hist. of the World, Vol. 3, Part 4, Chap. 2.

"6. Those of Rouen, in Normandy, that came with wine, or grampois, (quere, if not pease) and those of Flanders and Ponthieu, and others from Normandy and France, were wont to open their wares and free them from toll, *i. e.* I suppose to pay toll. Such traders as came from Liege and other places, travelling by land, opened their wares, and paid toll. The Emperor's men, *i. e.* Germans of the Steel-yard, coming with their ships, were accounted worthy of good laws, and might buy in their ships; but it is not lawful for them to forestall the markets from the burghers of London. They were to pay toll, and at Christmas, two grey cloths, and one brown one; with ten pound of pepper, five pair of gloves, and two vessels of vinegar; and as many at Easter.

"7. Bread to pay toll thrice a week, viz. Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday. Each pannier with hens to pay one hen for toll.

"8. Butter and cheese traded in fourteen days before Christmas, one penny for toll, and another penny seven days after Christmas."

As the German merchants of the Steel-yard in London, were very early settled there as a commercial society, it seems at least probable, that the tolls here named to be paid by the Emperor's men, as they are called, at the two most solemn festivals, point that society out to us. For it must be meant of persons constantly, or usually residing in London; and there never was any other society of German merchants resident in London, but those of the Steel-yard society. Fitzstephen, a monk of Canterbury, who wrote in the time of King Stephen, says, that merchants of all nations had, in his time, their distinct quays and wharfs in London. The Dutch had the Steel-yard; the French, for their wines, the Vintry, &c.

In 982, the Danes laid siege to London, and greatly damaged it, but could not make themselves masters of it.

There were at this time but few houses within the walls of London, and those were scattered about in a very irregular manner: the greater number of buildings being to the west of Ludgate.

In the year 992, the Danes returned again to the coast of England; upon which King Ethelred, to hinder their landing, fitted out a very large fleet in the port of London, the command of which he gave to the Ealdermen Thorod and Ealfrick, and to the bishops Eflstane and Escurige.

The English fleet coming up with that of the Danes, the traitor Ealfrick, on the evening of the intended engagement, deserted with his ship to the enemy; but as soon as this was known, a signal was made to pursue, and the English coming up with the rear of the Danes, took one of their ships; and a squadron of the Londoners falling in with one of the enemy's squadrons, a desperate engagement ensued, in which several thousands lost their lives, and the treacherous Ealfrick narrowly escaped being taken.

In the year 994, Anlaf and Sweyn, kings of Norway and Denmark, attacked London with a fleet of ninety-four ships; but the valiant citizens gave them so warm a reception, that they were glad to raise the siege: but full of revenge for the loss they had sustained, they committed the most dreadful outrages in Middlesex, Essex, Sussex, Kent and Hampshire, murdering all that fell in their way, and burning their habitations to the ground.

It may be matter of curiosity to take notice of the price of provisions in the year 1000, when an ox cost only two shillings and six-pence, a cow two shillings, a sheep one shilling, and a swine eight-pence.

The Danes, in the year 1009, having made an incursion as far as Oxford, burnt that city, and in their return committed the most shocking devastations on each side of the river Thames; but being informed that an army of the Londoners was marching to attack them, those on the north side of the Thames crossed over to Staines, and both parties being united, they hastened through the county of Surrey to their ships on the coast of Kent; and having refitted their vessels, they wintered in the Thames, and made frequent attacks on the city of London, but were constantly repulsed by the valour and military skill of the citizens.

In the year 1011, the inhabitants of this kingdom were plunged into the utmost distress; for all the counties about London being reduced by the Danes, king Ethelred had no place of importance in his possession but this city and Canterbury.

In this deplorable situation, he shut himself up in London, to which place he summoned a national assembly, to ask their advice in the present exigency.

If the authority of the Saxon Annals may be relied on, the council determined to give the Danes eight thousand pounds to leave the kingdom; but other writers inform us, that the sum given was forty-eight thousand pounds; and indeed this seems to have been the real purchase of the Danes' absence, because in a former instance, even when less success had attended their arms, they had been presented with thirty-six thousand pounds, as the conditions of their relinquishing their conquests.

According to the value of money at that time, this must have been a very dear purchase; but dear as this peace had been bought, it was of no long continuance; for Ethelred, with a barbarity that does him infinite discredit, and a want of policy that renders him contemptible, ordered all the Danes in England to be massacred, without distinction of age, sex, or rank in life.

Among those who fell a sacrifice to this ill-judged piece of cruelty, was the Princess Gunhild, sister to Sweyn king of Denmark, and her husband Palingus, who soon after their arrival in this kingdom, had embraced the christian religion, and had become hostages for the preservation of the peace so lately concluded.

This could not fail to engage the resentment of Sweyn, who in the year 1013, entered the river Humber with a numerous fleet of ships, and vowing vengeance and destruction on the murderer of his countrymen, the people were terrified into a submission, and the countries near the place of his landing surrendered to him without opposition.

Sweyn taking his rout to the South, received the submission of the inhabitants of Oxford and Winchester, from which last place he marched to London, which he summoned to surrender: but the citizens were so animated by the presence of their king, that they refused, and boldly sallying forth on the enemy, he was soon compelled to raise the siege.

Sweyn, thus disappointed in his attempt upon the metropolis, marched into the western parts of the kingdom, where all places, as he advanced, submitted to his power.

All the kingdom having submitted except London, Sweyn prepared to make a fresh attack on that city: but whilst he was making the necessary preparations for this enterprise, he was informed that Ethelred had withdrawn himself from the capital: and the citizens being deserted by their king, prudently submitted to the conqueror; upon which, in 1014, Sweyn became king of England by conquest, and was proclaimed in London.

Ethelred had retired to Normandy; but upon the death of Sweyn, which happened only a few months after his elevation to the throne, the nobility of England, and the citizens of London sent commissioners to their former sovereign, who returned to England, and re-assumed the reins of government; which, however, he held but a short time; for dying in the year 1016, he was interred in the chancel of the old cathedral church of St. Paul.

On the demise of Ethelred, the citizens of London proclaimed his eldest son Edmund Ironside; who was crowned king by the archbishop of York, by the general consent of the nobility and citizens. This is the first mention of a coronation in the city of London.

Though the young king appeared altogether worthy of the crown to which he was raised, yet many of the nobility, and almost all the clergy, deserted his cause, and declaring in favour of Cnut or Canute, son of Sweyn, the late King of Denmark, they not only proclaimed him King of England, but publicly abjured the whole race of Ethelred.

Encouraged by this defection, Canute fitted out a fleet of 200 ships to reduce the citizens of London, who still remained faithful, with which he sailed up the Thames, and laid siege to the city; but on his arrival he found he could not pass the bridge, which the citizens, apprehending he would make such an attempt, had previously fortified.

As the city was still enabled to draw supplies from the westward, Canute found himself compelled to blockade it on that side, and for this purpose he caused a cut or canal to be dug on the south side of the river, of a depth and breadth sufficient to admit

mit his ships to pass to the west side of the bridge; and having then surrounded the city both by land and water, he assaulted it with great fury; but the citizens made so gallant a resistance, that Canute thought fit to withdraw his army, leaving his fleet to blockade the city by water, in hopes of finding an opportunity to renew the siege with better success. At length, however, being defeated in several battles by Edmund Ironside, he was obliged to call off his ships, to cover his own army in case of necessity.

Authors are not agreed as to the extent of this canal. It is allowed on all hands that it began at Rotherithe, or Redriff, but some fix its western extremity at the lower end of Chelsea-Reach, while others assert that it returned into the Thames at St. Saviour's Dock. Mr. Pennant, whose discernment is well known, says*, "Evidences of this great "work were found in the place called *the Dock-head* "at *Redriff*, where it began. Fascines of hazels, "and other brush-wood, fastened down with stakes, "were discovered in digging that dock in 1694; "and in *other parts* of its course have been met with "in ditching, large oaken planks, and numbers of "piles."

If Mr. Maitland, from whose vol. I. p. 35, this is quoted, is correct in describing the *other parts* of its course, it must have had a very circuitous, and apparently unnecessary extension. He says, "Its "outflux from the River Thames was where the "great wet dock below Rotherhithe is situate; "whence running due west by the seven houses in "Rotherhithe Fields, it continues its course by a "gentle winding to the drain windmill; and with "a west-north-west course, passing St. Thomas of "Watering's, by an easy turning it crosses the

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* Of London, p. 294.

" Deptford Road, a little to the southward of the
" Lock Hospital, at the lower end of Kent-street ;
" and proceeding to Newington butts, intersects
" the road a little south of the turnpike ; whence
" continuing its course by the Black Prince, in
" Lambeth Road, on the north of Kennington ; it
" runs west and by south through the Spring-gar-
" den at Vauxhall to its influx into the Thames, at
" the lower end of Chelsea Reach."

It is, however, more probable that Canute's canal formed a much smaller semicircle, by St. Margaret's Hill to St. Saviour's Dock ; notwithstanding Mr. Maitland has shown very clearly, that vestiges of a water-course had been discovered at Newington, though its use is now buried in oblivion.

At length an agreement was entered into between Edmund and Canute, by which the kingdom was divided between them ; and Mercia, of which London was the capital, falling to Canute's share, he brought his fleet thither, and took up his winter quarters in it.

The death of Edmund happening soon after, Canute summoned a parliament to meet at London, which chose him sole monarch of England, and swore allegiance to him ; at the same time renouncing and abjuring the sons of Edmund.

Having thus got possession of the throne, Canute, with a view to persuade his new subjects that his sole reliance was on their affection, determined to disband his army, and send his fleet back to Denmark. This confidence was so pleasing to the parliament then assembled in London, that to enable him to execute his design, they granted him a sum of eighty two thousand pounds ; of which London alone is said to have advanced fifteen thousand pounds ; upwards of a sixth of the whole sum.
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This is a strong proof of the opulence of London in those days.

In the year 1036, we have the first instance on record of the Londoners sending representatives to a parliament, or meeting, of the great men of the nation, for the term parliament, according to Sir Robert Cotton, does not occur before the sixth of John. This happened in settling the succession to the throne after Canute's death. The English, in general, declared for Edward, son of Ethelred; or, if that could not be carried, for Hardicanute, son of Canute by Queen Emma, and then absent in Denmark. The city of London espoused the interest of Harold Harefoot, also son of Canute, by Queen Elgiva, of Northampton. Edward's party soon declined, and the Londoners agreed, for the peace of the realm, that the two brothers should divide the kingdom between them; but as Hardicanute did not return in time to England, a Wittena-gemote was held at Oxford, where Earl Leofric, and most of the Thanes on the north side of the Thames, with the *Lidromen* of London, chose Harold for their king.

Here, by *Lidromen*, we must understand the directors, magistrates, or leading men of the city, and not the *mariners*, as it is rendered by the translator of the Annals: and this manifestly shows, that London was then of such consequence, that no important national business was transacted without the consent of its inhabitants: for in this case the Saxon Annals assure us, that "none were admitted into the assembly of election but the nobility and the lidromen of London."

On the death of Harold, in the year 1039, commissioners were sent from the nobility and citizens of London, to his brother Hardicanute, who was then at Bruges in Flanders, inviting him to come to England, and accept the crown.

Hardicanute accepted the invitation; but was no sooner in possession of the throne, than he dispatched proper persons to dig up the body of his brother Harold, who was buried at Westminster, and cutting off his head, to throw both head and body into the Thames.

By this act of inhumanity, and Hardicanute's extreme partiality to the Danes, the English were so disgusted with their sovereign, that they resolved on a restoration of the Saxon line, whenever his death should give them an opportunity.

Accordingly, on the death of Hardicanute, which happened in the year 1041, Prince Edward, surnamed the Confessor, was recalled from Normandy, and chosen King of England, in the city of London, by the general voice of the whole nation.

Not long after Edward's elevation to the throne, in the year 1043, so dreadful a famine happened to this kingdom, that wheat was sold at five shillings the quarter; a prodigious price at that time.

A great council being held in the city of London, in the sixth year of the reign of King Edward, it was therein resolved to send out nine ships of war, to protect the coasts of England against the piratical attacks of the Danes; as five other ships were to remain in port as guard-ships.

Edward having, by many vile insinuations, been exasperated against Godwin, Earl of Kent, that nobleman was summoned to answer the charge against him, before a great council, assembled in London, to enquire into the truth of the allegations: but Godwin, assured that no endeavours, however unjustifiable, would be left untried, to accomplish his destruction, refused to appear, unless pledges were given for his safe conduct: this, however, being denied, a proclamation was issued to banish him the kingdom.

Godwin, resolved at all events to provide for his own security; having engaged many of the principal citizens to espouse his cause, soon raised a considerable army, and fitted out a powerful fleet, with which he sailed as high as London bridge; and meeting with no opposition from the Londoners, he passed through the arches on the Southwark side, with an intention of attacking the royal navy, which consisted of about fifty vessels, then lying off Westminster.

In the interim, Godwin's army having arrived in Southwark, was drawn up on the south bank of the Thames, where they made a very formidable appearance.

The king was preparing to give battle to Godwin, and all seemed ripe for bloodshed, when many of the nobility, anxious to prevent a needless effusion of blood, proposed a compromise between the king and the earl, by which the latter was restored to all his estates and honours, and the former engaged to dismiss all strangers from places of trust or profit, in church or state.

Among the last public acts of this reign, was the rebuilding of Westminster Abbey, the causes and manner of which are described by Mr. Entick*, as follows:

"The king having, in the days of his exile, made a vow to visit the sepulchre at Jerusalem, or St. Peter's at Rome, in case of his restoration to the kingdom of his fathers, and declaring his intention to perform that vow, was prevailed upon to apply to the Bishop of Rome for a dispensation, on condition of doing some religious act in his own realm, by way of commutation.

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* Vol. 1, Page 70.

The Pope, amongst other things, enjoined him to build or repair some monastery to the honour of St. Peter, and to endow it sufficiently. And, upon the motion and recommendation of one Wulsin, a religious hermit, who pretended to bring his message from God himself, the king pitched upon the ruins of the minster or monastery on the island of Thorney, where he destroyed the old building; and laid a new foundation for a most magnificent edifice.

The king not only endowed this church and monastery of monks, dedicated to St. Peter, at Westminster, but favoured the same with high privileges, and had them confirmed by a bull from Pope Nicholas, who then sat in the papal chair. The king also thought proper to insert that bull of confirmation in the charter granted by himself to this monastery. In which charter and bull there is a remarkable clause, setting forth, "That the place where the said church and monastery were built, was anciently the seat of kings: therefore, says the pope, by the authority of God and his holy apostles, and this Roman see and our own, we grant, permit, and most solidly confirm, that hereafter for ever, it be the place of the king's constitution, or coronation, and consecration; the repository of the royal crown and ensigns of majesty; and a perpetual habitation of monks, who shall be subject to no other person at all, but only to the king himself."

"Having settled the revenue, and confirmed all his donations and privileges * to this church and monastery

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* By virtue of the king's charter, confirmed by the Pope, the Abbey of Westminster had all the advantages of tenure, privilege, and jurisdiction, imaginable. The Benedictine Monks, possessed of this Abbey, had power to try causes within themselves; were exempt from episcopal authority; had their house made a sanctuary; and no jurisdiction, ecclesiastical, or civil, was allowed to break in upon them.

monastery by three charters, the king proceeded to the consecration, and after the example of Constantine the Great, he summoned a general assembly of the clergy and nobility to meet him at his palace, near Westminster, and to attend him at a solemn dedication of the magnificent church he had there built, to the honour of St. Peter. A church, says Spelman, which that age could not parallel, either for the august majesty, or excellent contrivance of the building: for that church transmitted to posterity a plan for building churches in the form of a cross.

"In the south isle of the old abbey or minster, there was an altar or chauntry dedicated to St. Margaret, which served the neighbouring inhabitants by way of parish church, and was accordingly endowed with tithes, &c. But that having its inconveniences, both in regard to the people and to the monks, the king removed it, and erected a parish church distinct from the Abbey, and on the place where St. Margaret's church now stands.

"The king, who had been seized with a fever on Christmas-Eve, or only four days before this grand solemnity of the dedication, and strove against his infirmity; grew so bad with the hurry and the coldness of the season, that he was forced to take to his bed as soon as the ceremony was over, and he died on the nones of January, 1066; and was buried, according to his own order, in the new church of St. Peter, which he had so lately built at Westminster."

While this royal foundation was carrying on, Ingilricus, and his brother Edwardus, or Girardus, founded A. D. 1056, a large and beautiful college in St. Martin's lane, within Aldersgate, and endowed it for a dean and secular canons, or priests, by the name of St. Martin's le Grand. It does not appear to have met with any encouragement from Edward the Confessor, but was distinguished highly by the privileges granted in the charter of William I. and several of his successors.

CHAP. IV.

London at first opposes, but afterwards receives William the Conqueror.—His two Charters.—Dreadful Fires.—The White Tower Built.—State of London after the Conquest.—Building of St. Mary-le-Bow.—Distressed Situation of London under William Rufus.—Extraordinary Tempest—Henry the First's Charter.—Origin of Merchant-Guilds.—Usury forbidden to the Clergy.—The licentiousness of the Normans checked.—Religious Foundations.—London suffers greatly in the Civil Wars between Stephen and Matilda.—Terrible Fire.—Obtains liberty to choose a Sheriff.—Total Eclipse of the Sun.—Is deprived of its Privileges by Matilda.—Adheres to King Stephen, but at length surrenders to Matilda.—Her ill conduct to the Londoners occasions all her Misfortunes.—Price of Provisions.—Dearth.—Hard Frost.

WE come now to a very great revolution in the affairs of England, originating in the conquest of the kingdom, by William Duke of Normandy.

Without entering into the conqueror's pretensions to the crown, it is sufficient to observe here, that on the death of Edward the Confessor, which happened in January 1066, Harold, son of Earl Godwin, took possession of the throne; but lost it and his life in the battle that gave William the crown.

At this period, Edward and Morcar, who had escaped from the field of battle, proposed to the Londoners to place the crown upon the head of Edgar Atheling, as the most effectual method of saving the kingdom from falling a prey to the Norman conqueror. This proposal was adopted by the majority, and it was determined to defend the city against the Duke of Normandy.

William had, however, marched to prevent them putting their design in execution, and was actually arrived in Southwark, when the Londoners sallied out upon him, and fought so resolutely, that, though they were repulsed by five hundred of the Norman horse, yet William was convinced that they would not be easily frightened into a submission.

Thinking, therefore, that the winter season, which was now advanced, was an improper time to lay siege to a place of so much importance, he laid Southwark in ashes, and marched to reduce the western counties, having first prevailed on the clergy to espouse his cause, and endeavour to engage the people in his interest; and such was their influence, that, according to Rapin, they prevailed on the citizens to make an abject submission to the conqueror.

As soon as this defection was known to Edwin and Morcar, those noblemen consulted their own safety by retiring into the north of England; while the successful William began his march towards this city, into which he was received by the magistrates and principal citizens, who delivered to him the keys of the city gates, acknowledged him their sovereign, and, in conjunction with the nobility and gentry, entreated his acceptance of the crown.

The example of the capital was followed by the rest of the kingdom, so that in a short time William was in peaceable possession of the throne.

Preparations were now made for the coronation of the new king, which was solemnized in Wesminster-abbey, on Christmas day, in the year 1066, by Aldred, archbishop of York.

Having thus gained possession of London, he caused a strong fortress to be built, which he garrisoned with his best troops, in order to secure it and overawe the citizens; yet when he made his public entry into the city soon after, he was received with the greatest acclamations and external signs of joy.

The conqueror soon after set out to visit his Norman dominions; and at his return from thence, in the second year of his reign, was received into London with a solemn procession: in return for which, and at the intercession of William (the Norman) Bishop of London, he granted a charter to the citizens in their own language*; a mighty favour at that time, when the French tongue began to prevail over all. This charter consists of four lines and a quarter, beautifully written in the Saxon character, on a slip of parchment of the length of six inches, and breadth of one, which is preserved in the city archives as a very great jewel.

The seal of the charter is of white wax, and being broken into divers pieces, they are sewed up and carefully preserved in an orange-coloured silken bag. On one side is the Conqueror on horseback; and, on the reverse, he is sitting in a chair of state: the rim of the seal being almost gone, the only letters remaining are, M. WILL. But the writing of the charter being very fair, the following is an exact translation thereof:

William the Conqueror's First Charter.

William the King greets William the Bishop, and Godfrey the Portreve, and all the Burgesses within London, both French and English. And I declare, that I grant you to be all law-worthy, as you were in the days of King Edward; and I grant that every

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[*] Maitland, vol. I. p. 37.

child shall be his father's heir, after his father's days; and I will not suffer any person to do you wrong. God keep you.

Upon this charter a learned and judicious antiquary* has made the following remarks:

"1. The burgesses were declared all to be law-worthy. 2. That their children should be their heirs. Now there were two ways of being law-worthy, or having the benefit of the law. By the state and condition of mens' persons; so almost all freemen had the free benefit of the law; but men of servile condition had not, especially such as were *in dominio*, in demesne; for they received justice from their lords, were judged by them in most cases, and had not the true benefit of the law: so neither, as to the second observation in this charter, could their children be their heirs, for they held their lands and goods at the will of the lord, and were not sure to enjoy them longer than they pleased him. The second way of being law-worthy was, when men had not committed any crimes, or done any thing for which they forfeited the law, and deserved to be outlawed; then they were said to be *legales homines*, *recti in curia*, or law-worthy, but not so properly as in the first sense of the word.

"From hence we may make a very probable conjecture at the meaning of this protection or charter. It is not to be doubted, but that the burgesses of London had obtained of the Saxon kings several liberties and immunities, amongst which this was one, to be so far free, as not to be in dominio, or so obnoxious to any lord, but that, by reason of their state and condition, they might be law-worthy, that is, have the free benefit of the law; and likewise further obtained (if it was not then a consequent of their personal estate and condition), that their children should be heirs of their lands and goods, and in both these were free from the injuries and unreasonable demands and power of any severe lord; so that all the application made by their Bishop William, and not unlikely by Godfrey the portreve, to the conqueror for them, was, that their state and condition might be the same it was in King Edward's days, that their children might be their heirs, and that they might in both be protected from the injury and violence of imperious lords, which by the prevalency of their bishop was granted; considering, therefore, that by the foregoing instances it is clear, that many or most burgesses of other burghs were in dominio, either of the king, or some other lords or patrons in the time of King Edward, and that the Londoners might fear the Conqueror would break in upon their privileges, and reduce them to the same condition: this was a great privilege obtained."

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* Brady's Hist. Treat. Bur.

These ingenious remarks seem to discover the genuine meaning and very import of this protection or charter.

Some time after, the said Conqueror granted to the citizens of London another charter in the Saxon Language, consisting of three lines finely written on a slip of parchment, of the length of six inches and a half, and breadth of three quarters of an inch, which is carefully preserved in the same round wooden box with the first charter above specified.

The small seal of this charter is of white wax, like the former; but, being broken into divers pieces, they are sewed up and preserved in a silken bag. It is so much defaced, that all that can be made of the impression it bore, is something resembling a gate with some steeples or spires. However, the writing of the charter is very fair, and the contents as follow:

William

William the Conqueror's Second Charter.

William the King greets William the Bishop, and Swegn the Sheriff, and all my Thanes (or Nobles) in East-Saxony; whom I hereby acquaint, that, pursuant to an Agreement, I have granted to the People my Servants the Hide of Land at Gyddesdune. And also, that I will not suffer either the French or the English to hurt them in any Thing.

Where, by the people, we are to understand the Londoners, his servants, who keep this deed, and got possession of the land at Gyddesdune, or Godsden, in Hertfordshire, by virtue thereof: though it is a most notorious example of the inadvertency of those days, to make a grant to any people, without a particular specification of their capacity and name: or so much as the date of the year, or of the king's reign, in either of these charters.

In the year of our Lord 1075, there was a national council of bishops and abbots, convened at London; there were many other of the clergy present. In which was regulated the precedency of episcopal sees; and it was ordained, that every prelate should rank according to the priority of his consecration, excepting those, who, by ancient custom, had particular privileges annexed to their sees: and that the Archbishop of York should be seated at the right hand of the Archbishop of Canterbury; the Bishop of London at his left; and the Bishop of Winchester next to the Archbishop of York. It was further ordained, that no bishop's sees should for the future be placed in villages or small towns. And accordingly, Herman, Bishop of Shereburn, was ordered to remove his chair to Salisbury; Stigand to remove from Selcey to Chichester; and Peter of Litchfield to Chester. And it was further ordained, that no person, under the dignity of a bishop and abbot, should speak in the council, without leave from the metropolitan.

In the same year, the king promoted Hugo de Orivalle to the see of London, who had the reputation of a person of great abilities. For which reason, the conqueror joined him in commission with Aldred, Archbishop of York; who, with the assistance of twelve of the most sufficient and best qualified in each county, were ordered to make search for a body of the old laws of England, called the laws of St. Edward the Confessor. These two were appointed to receive the report of the twelve men in each county, and to set down in writing, what they should deliver upon oath.

The Londoners held their deceased bishop, William, in such esteem, for the favours he did for them with the king, amongst which was their charter, procured by his interest at court, that they instituted an anniversary solemnity to his memory. For, being sumptuously entombed in St. Paul's cathedral, the magistrates of London used to go in procession to his tomb once a-year.

In the year 1077 happened the greatest casual fire, that till this time ever befel the city; whereby the major part of it was laid in ashes. And about two years after, the conqueror caused the present great white square Tower of London to be erected (in the place where it is supposed he built his fort abovementioned), for the more effectually keeping the citizens in obedience, whose fidelity at this time, it seems, he had some reason to suspect. The surveyor of the work was Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester; which effectually destroys the idle and absurd story of Fitz-stephen, the monk, who reports it to have been at first erected by Julius Cæsar.

In 1086, another very dreadful fire happened, which began at Ludgate, and consumed the greatest and best part of the city, with the Cathedral of St. Paul; which, however, was soon rebuilt more magnificently than before.

Although the Danish ravages, before the Norman conquest, had greatly distressed the city of London, yet William of Malmsbury, who wrote soon after, calls London "a rich and noble city, frequented by merchants and factors from all parts." The romancing Fitz-stephen, who also lived at this time, goes further, in saying, "That London had now one hundred and twenty-two parish churches, and thirteen convents: and that a muster being made of men in it, fit to bear arms, they brought into the field forty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horsemen." It will require but little trouble to demonstrate this account to be extremely beyond truth, since, even now, the entire city of London within the bars, or the Lord Mayor's jurisdiction, cannot muster such a number of either horse or foot, although the city is now much better filled with houses, and more closely built than it was till long after that period. Indeed, from Drake's history of York, it appears, that there were only two thousand houses in that city in 1086, yet he describes it as "a greater city than London."

It was in this reign that the parish church of St. Mary, in Cheapside, was built; which, from being built with arches of stone, was called St. Mary de Arcubus, *i. e.* St. Mary-le-Bow, in such English as was then in use.

In the reign of William Rufus, London suffered considerably by fires, inundations, and hurricanes, and seems to have been greatly depressed by the tyranny of that prince. It is asserted, by William of Malmsbury, that, having received very rich presents from the jews of this city, who were brought from Rouen by his father, and settled in Coleman-street ward, in the place to this day called the Old-Jewry; he was so transported with joy, as to encourage them to dispute with the Christians concerning their respective faiths; assuring them, that if they obtained the victory, he would himself become one of their religion; but history does not inform us whether the debate was ever held.

All the historiographers of London agree, that a violent tempest happened in November of the year 1091, in which many churches, and upwards of six hundred houses were blown down, and the Tower much damaged: but the most extraordinary circumstance is, that four of the rafters of the roof of the church of St. Mary-le-Bow, which was blown off, were pitched so deep into the ground of that street, that although they were twenty-six feet in length, scarcely four feet remained above ground. "For," says James Howell, in particular, "the city of London was not paved, but a moorish ground." This inelegance was not peculiar to London in those times, but was also the case with many cities in foreign countries.

A considerable part of this city was again destroyed by fire, in the year 1093, and this calamity was succeeded by a great scarcity of corn, and almost all kinds of the necessaries of life.

In the year 1097, William Rufus imposed grievous taxes on his subjects throughout the kingdom, to defray the charges of rebuilding London-bridge (which had been carried away by a land-flood), of erecting a strong wall round the Tower of London, and building Westminster-hall as it now stands.

In the year 1099, the river Thames, by an extraordinary swelling of the sea, was driven westward with such violence, that it overflowed its banks in many places, by which several towns and villages were laid under water, many of the inhabitants were drowned, and the large estate of Godwin, Earl of Kent, was encroached on by the sea, so that it could never afterwards be drained, but forms what is called the Godwin Sands to this day.

William Rufus was succeeded by his brother, Henry I. who, in the first year of his reign, granted a third charter; which, being given for the purpose of obtaining the assistance of the citizens of London, to secure him upon the throne, of which he had unjustly deprived his eldest brother Robert, was peculiarly beneficial to them. The following is a faithful translation of it.

"Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, to "the Bishop of Canterbury, and to the bishops and "abbots, earls and barons, justices and sheriffs, and "to all his faithful subjects of England, French and "English, greeting. Know ye, that I have granted to "my citizens of London, to hold Middlesex to farm for "three hundred pounds, upon accompt to them and "their heirs; so that the said citizens shall place as "Sheriff whom they will of themselves, and shall place "whomsoever, or such a one, as they will of themselves, "for keeping of the pleas of the crown, and of the "pleading of the same, and none others shall be Justice "over the same men of London; and the citizens of "London shall not plead without the walls of London "for any plea. And be they free from scot and lot "and daneguilt, and of all murder, and none of them "shall wage battle. And if any of the citizens shall "be impleaded concerning the pleas of the crown, the "man of London shall discharge himself by his oath, "which shall be adjudged within the city; and none "shall lodge within the walls, neither of my household "nor any other, nor lodging delivered by force.

"And all the men of London shall be quit and "free, and all their goods throughout England and "the ports of the sea, of and from all toll and passage "and lestage, and all other customs; and the churches

" and barons* and citizens shall and may peaceably and " quietly have and hold their sokes with all their customs; so that the strangers that shall be lodged in the " sokes, shall give custom to none but to him to whom " the soke appertains, or to his officer, whom he shall " there put: And a man of London shall not be adjudged in amerciaments of money, but of one hundred " shillings (I speak of the pleas which appertain to " money); and further, there shall be no more miskenning in the hustings, nor in the folkmote, nor in any " other pleas within the city: and the hustings may sit " once in a week, that is to say, on Monday; And I " will cause my citizens to have their lands, promises, " bonds, and debts within the city and without; and I " will do them right by the law of the city, of the lands " of which they shall complain to me; And if any " shall take toll or custom of any citizen of London, the " citizens of London in the city shall take of the borough " or town, where toll or custom was so taken, so much " as the man of London gave for toll, and as he received damage thereby: And all debtors which do " owe debts to the citizens of London, shall pay them " in London, or else discharge themselves in London " that they owe none; but, if they will not pay the " same, neither come to clear themselves that they owe " none, the citizens of London, to whom the debts " shall be due may take their goods in the city of " London, of the borough or town, or of the county, " wherein he remains who shall owe the debt: And the " citizens of London may have their chaces to hunt, as " well and fully as their ancestors have had, that is to " say, in the Chiltre†, and in Middlesex and Surrey.

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* Barons, i. e. the freemen of London, as may be collected from the second charter of King Henry III. and from the testimony of Matthew Paris, sub, anno 1253, who is clear, " That the citizens, or men of London, in respect of the dignity of the city, and ancient liberties of the citizens, were called barons. And he affirms it again in 1258.

† A district near St. Albans, in Hertfordshire.

"Witness the Bishop of Winchester, and Robert "son of Richard, and Hugh Piggot, and Almer of "Totness, and William of Albs-prima, and Hubert "Roger, Chamberlain, and William de Mountfitchett, "and Hangul Taney, and John Ballet, and Robert "son of Steward of West."

Mr. Maitland says*, "By this valuable charter, the citizens had not only,

1. Their ancient customs and immunities confirmed to them, but likewise the county of Middlesex added to their jurisdiction in fee-farm, without homage, fealty, service, or other consideration, than a quit-rent of three hundred pounds per annum; with a power of not only appointing a sheriff, but also a justiciary from among themselves, for holding the pleas of the crown: besides whom, in the reign of the said Henry, there appears to have been two other officers, under the appellation of sheriffs, who, together with the former, accounted at the Exchequer for the farm of the city: the number of which officers were in a fluctuating condition, till fixed in the time of Richard the First.

2. The concession of Middlesex to the city was to prevent that county's being any longer an asylum for bankrupts, cheats, and other fraudulent persons; who, having deserted London with the goods and effects of their creditors, lived there securely in impunity, and open defiance of the injured.

3. The citizens' valuable privilege, that they should not be compelled to plead without the walls of the city, was granted them, that, if any citizen should be impleaded or prosecuted concerning pleas of the crown, he might purge himself by an oath upon trial in the city.

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* Vol. I. p. 40.

4. The citizens by the said charter were also exempt from scot, lot, and daneguild; which were certain duties payable to the king by all his subjects.

5. And to be free from all murder; that is, when any murder shall happen in London, and the murderer or murderess make his or her escape, then, and in such case, the city shall not be amerced for not producing the malefactor.

6. And none of them shall wage battle: in the Saxon times, a person accused of a crime, whereof he could not acquit himself by evidence, was obliged to challenge the accuser, and decide the same by a duel; this the citizens justly regarding as an intolerable grievance, were exempt therefrom by this charter.

7. That none of the king's houshold, or other person, shall take lodging in the city by force: by this gracious concession, the citizens got rid of a very great slavery; for, before this grant, the king's domestics, and whom else he pleased, were, by his arbitrary officer the portreve, quartered upon them at discretion.

8. That the citizens, with their goods and merchandizes, shall in all parts and sea-ports of the kingdom, be exempt from toll, passage, and lestage; that is, they shall not as formerly be liable to pay toll, at either fair or market, passage or ferriage for crossing of rivers; nor lestage, a certain duty paid in fairs and markets for each last of mercantile commodities.

9. That the churches, barons, and citizens, should peaceably enjoy their several sokes; that is, that the incumbent of no parish shall be molested on account of the glebe, or other lands belonging to the cure; nor the aldermen in respect of their wards, which then, being alienable, were sold, assigned, and conveyed, like other possessions; whereby the purchaser or purchasers became an alderman or aldermen of

his or their respective purchases; as is evident by an eminent historian*: by whom it likewise appears, that part of the aldermens' office at that time was, to assign proper lodgings for strangers in their respective wards, for which they or their deputies received a certain pecuniary reward.

10. That no citizen shall be amerced beyond his ware; that is, the price of his head or life, which was valued at one hundred shillings.

11. There shall be no miskenning in the hustings, folkmote, or other pleas within the city: that is, no man shall unjustly prosecute another in any of the city courts, by deserting his first plea, and assuming another; and, for the more regular and better distribution of justice, the court of hustings is weekly to sit on Monday.

12. That the citizens shall enjoy their properties, both real and personal, according to the constitutions of the city; and whatsoever city, town or place, shall extort toll or custom from any of them, they are by the said charter empowered to make reprisals in London, upon the inhabitants of such city, town or place, where the same was exacted.

13. Upon the remissness of country debtors, in making proper payments, or in default of adjusting accounts with the Londoners, they are empowered to attach the effects of all such defaulters in London, for the discharge of their respective debts.

14. And the city privileges of hunting are confirmed in as ample a manner as their predecessors ever enjoyed the same in the counties of Middlesex and Surrey, and the Chiltern."

Before the grant of this charter, London seems to have been intirely subject to the arbitrary will of the king. But, their liberties being now guarded by so strong a fence, the citizens endeavoured to secure their customs, by converting them into written laws; and their arts and mysteries, which had hitherto been kept up by prescription only, were now strengthened by established fraternities and companies. However, the king reserved to himself the power of appointing the portreve or chief officer of this city.

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* Madox, in his Firma Burgi.

It was probably about the close of the last, or the beginning of this century, that merchant-guilds, or fraternities, which were afterwards stiled corporations, came first into general use in many parts of Europe. Mr. Madox thinks that "they were hardly known to our Saxon progenitors, and that they might probably be brought into England by the Normans; although they do not seem to have been very numerous in France in those days." And in Cap x. Sect. 20. he relates, "That the weavers and bakers were the two most ancient fellowships, or guilds, in London;" which is natural enough, since food and cloathing are most immediately necessary to mankind. "In King Henry Ist's. reign, who reigned between 1100 and 1135, the weavers of London rendered to the crown a rent, or ferme, as it is called in the stile of the Exchequer, for their guild, and had, in after times, great disputes with the city of London concerning their high immunities and privileges."

In a council, which was held at Westminster, in the year 1126, by the Pope's legate, Cardinal de Crema, *usury* was prohibited to the clergy, who, if they practised it, were to be degraded; but it is to be understood that the term usury, as it was at that time applied, meant only interest or use for money in general, and not exorbitant or extravagant interest, which it now implies.

During this reign the monstrous licentiousness of the Normans, which, from the protection afforded them by the two Williams, had attained a dangerous height, was put a stop to by a proclamation, published at London, commanding that thenceforward, all who should be convicted of such excesses, should have their eyes pulled out, or their hands or feet cut off, as the ministers of justice should think fit. This effectually checked the insolence of the Normans.

The spirit of religion began to manifest itself in religious foundations, in and about London; for in the year 1081, Alwin Child, citizen of London, founded a monastery for cluniack monks, at Bermondsey, dedicated to St. Saviour. Alfune, who was afterwards the first hospitaller, or proctor of St. Bartholomew's hospital, built a parish church near that gate of the city now called Cripplegate, in the year 1090, and dedicated the same to St. Giles. In the year 1102, Rahere, a pleasant, witty gentleman, called the king's minstrel, founded the priory of St. Bartholomew, on the east side of West Smithfield and Duck-lane, for canons of St. Augustine; of whom he himself became the first prior. To which the founder annexed an hospital for the relief of sick and infirm persons: and obtained for both foundations many great privileges and immunities: amongst which is mentioned Bartholomew fair for three days. Before this time, Smithfield was a kind of laystall, for ordure and filth, and the place for public executions.

The priory of Clerkenwell was also founded about this time, by Jordan Bliset, (who is stiled Baro and Miles) in a field near unto Clerk's well, on the north side of London. It stood upon and encompassed fourteen acres of land, and was dedicated to the honour of God and the assumption of our lady, for Benedictine nuns: and also gave his house and another piece of ground for building a mill for the use of this priory. And it was soon after amply endowed by several benefactions: particularly with certain lands at Muswell-hill, near Highgate, given by

Richard Beauveyes, Bishop of London, in 1112, and confirmed by King Stephen.

This same Jordan Bliset, alias Briset, founded another house near adjoining to these nuns, by the name of the Priory of St. John at Jerusalem, for the knights templars, for which purpose the founder took ten acres of land from the nuns, and gave them ten acres in exchange at Welyng-hall, in the county of Kent.

Queen Maud, consort to Henry I. who died in the year 1118, built an hospital for lepers in St. Giles's, (with a fraternity or brotherhood of our blessed lady, Corpus Christi and St. Giles: and at this hospital it became a custom, to present the malefactors carried to execution at Tyburn, with a great bowl of ale, to drink of it as they pleased for their last refreshment in this life), and another for poor maimed people, near the north gate of the city, which from this foundation and benefaction, has always since that time been distinguished by the name of Cripplegate. Both these hospitals were endowed with a sufficiency to maintain the poor objects received into them, with diet and clothes. She also was the foundress of a priory near Aldgate, for canons regular. This priory, dedicated by the name of Holy Trinity, Christ's Church, was built on the place where Suredas, or Siredus, had some time before begun to erect, or had erected, a church in honour of the Holy Cross and St. Mary Magdalen (from which dedication, we find that the district thereunto belonging was called Holy Cross, or Holy Rood, parish), and obtained a charter of confirmation from the king; by which this church of Christ, within the walls of London, where now stands Duke's Place, was made free, and acquitted from subjection to any other person or church, except the Bishop of London, or church of St. Paul. Her majesty appointed one Norman the first prior of this religious house, and gave to him and the canons the east gate of the city, called Aldgate, and the soke *(i. e.* jurisdiction, district, or ward), thereunto belonging, with all the customs, as she held the same; and two parts of the revenues and rents of the city of Exeter, then valued at 25l. per annum. And in the year 1115, certain burgesses of London, descended from the thirteen knights to whom King Edgar gave this soken, gave the same to the church and canons of the Holy Trinity, or Trinity Christ Church, within Aldgate; then newly founded by Queen Maud, wife to King Henry I. taking upon them the brotherhood and participation of the benefits of that house, by the hands of Norman the prior; and did put the said prior in seisin thereof by the church of St. Botolph, which was built thereon: and was the head of that soke or land anciently called Knighten Guild, but now known by the name of Portsoken ward. So that the church of St. Botolph, without Aldgate, was united and appropriated to the priory of the Holy Trinity, within Aldgate. Which was confirmed not only by royal charter, but by Pope Innocent II. in the fourth year of his pontificate: who by his bull confirmed the uniting and annexing St. Botolph's church and the chapels of St. Catharine, (now St. Catharine Cree Church) alias Christ's Church, and St. Michaels' (which stood, and whose ruins may still be seen in the cellars, between the east extremities of Leadenhall-street and Fenchurch-street, but then), situate in the church-yard of the said monastery of the Holy Trinity, to the said canons. The possessions of this priory became so great, that it surpassed all other priories in London and Middlesex for riches.

Soon after this foundation, Queen Maud resolved upon another religious foundation, by the name of the church and hospital of St. Catharine, near the tower of London. For which purpose, Ralph the prior, with the canons of the Holy Trinity, within Aldgate, did grant to her a certain parcel of land, to build on, and the mill in the shambles, in lieu of six yard land in the manor of Bracching, in the county of Hertford.

On the death of King Henry I. in Normandy, Stephen, nephew of the late king, privately hastened to England, where, by the assistance of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Winchester and Salisbury, he possessed himself of the throne, to the prejudice of Maud or Matilda, daughter of the late king, though these very ecclesiastics had solemnly sworn to support her claim.

The advancement of Stephen to the throne, which happened in 1135, was productive of a bloody war, by which London suffered greatly; for these base prelates had artfully cajoled the citizens to receive Stephen, and espouse his cause.

In the following year happened the most terrible casual fire which the city had yet experienced. According to Matthew of Westminster, "it broke out near London Bridge, which it destroyed; and raging in the most furious manner, caused the most horrible devastation as far to the westward as St. Clements Danes;" but Stow says, that "it began in the house of one Ailward near London stone, and consumed all the way east to Aldgate, and west to St. Erkenwald's shrine, in St. Paul's Cathedral; both of which, it destroyed, together with London-bridge, which was then of wood."

It appears from Madox's History of the Exchequer, that in 1139, the citizens of London paid King Stephen one hundred marks of silver, for liberty to choose their own sheriff.

About noon, on the 20th of March, in the year 1140, there happened a total eclipse of the sun at London, which occasioned such a terrible consternation among the people, that they dreaded the return of the ancient Chaos.

The success of Matilda, in routing the army of King Stephen, and taking him prisoner, gave such a happy turn to her affairs, that she resolved to revenge herself upon her enemies; and, as the citizens of London were the principal, she began with them by making a convention with Geffrey, Earl of Essex, wherein she granted to him all the possessions which his grandfather, father, or himself, had held of the crown, in lands, tenements, castles, and Bailiwicks; among which were the tower of London and the Sheriffwicks of London and Middlesex, at a fee-farm rent of 300l. per ann. as held by his grandfather.

And, as a greater mortification to the citizens of London, Matilda granted to the said Geffrey the office of justiciary of their city, and of the county of Middlesex; so that no person whatsoever could hold pleas either in the city or county, without his special permission. This convention was ratified by the empress upon oath, and attested by divers of the prime nobility: for the performance of which, several of the English and Norman nobility were given as hostages; and, as a farther corroboration of the same, it was to be confirmed by all the English clergy under her dominion.

This compact, next to that of Magna Charta, appears to have been the most solemnly executed of any that ever was entered into betwixt an English sovereign and a subject. The woeful effects of which the Londoners soon after felt by sad experience; for by this agreement they were divested of some of their most valuable privileges.

King Stephen was now deserted by many of his former adherents, and in particular by those very ecclesiastics who had been the chief instruments of his advancement to the throne: for the Bishop of Winchester (who was brother to King Stephen) being at this time the pope's legate in England, having obtained from the Empress Matilda, a solemn promise, ratified by an oath, that all the most important affairs, both in church and state, should be left to his direction, he forgot the oath of fidelity he had taken to King Stephen, and in a solemn assembly of the nobility and clergy, received the empress into the city of Winchester, and conducted her to the cathedral, where he pronounced sentence of excommunication against all the adherents of Stephen, and absolved such of his friends as would join the empress's party.

The legate having summoned a general convention of the clergy to meet at Winchester, proposed to them to recognize Matilda as Queen of England; and the whole council tacitly acceded to this proposal.

However, they postponed coming to a final resolution, till the arrival of the magistrates of London, who had been summoned to this convention: and these arriving on the second day of the convention, instead of concurring with the sentiments of the legate, earnestly recommended the release of King Stephen, as a circumstance much desired by the nobility residing in London, as well as by a great majority of the citizens.

In answer to this, the legate advanced many arguments in defence of Maud's right to the crown, and concluded by observing, that "it ill became the citizens of London, who made so respectable a figure in the kingdom, to take part with the cowardly barons, who had deserted their king in battle."

Notwithstanding all the arguments of the legate, the citizens could by no means be induced to abandon Stephen, to whom they had sworn obedience.

Hereupon the empress, who foresaw the difficulty of establishing herself on the throne, without the concurrence of the Londoners, entered into a treaty with them, and took up her residence at St. Alban's, to wait the event of their deliberations.

The city was now divided into different factions, one of which was for adhering to the interest of King Stephen, and the other for submitting to Matilda; but the latter prevailing, the city was at length surrendered to her, and she was received therein with great pomp and solemnity.

The empress having succeeded to the height of her expectations, began to treat her subjects in general, and the Londoners in particular, with the greatest arrogance; and when the latter requested her to restore to them the laws of King Edward, and to ease them of part of the taxes with which they were loaded, she told them, with the utmost disdain, that as they had heretofore espoused the cause of her enemy, they must expect no favour at her hands.

This severe and haughty answer made the citizens conclude they were to expect no other treatment from this imperious and inexorable princess, than that of slaves. To prevent this, they resolved upon taking other measures, which were carried on so far, as to form a conspiracy to seize her person; but she, receiving intelligence thereof, privately withdrew herself and friends from the city; which was no sooner known, than the populace got together, and plundered her palace.

To this impolitic behaviour of Matilda to the Londoners, were owing all her future misfortunes; for, by their powerful assistance, she was compelled at last to fly the kingdom; and King Stephen, to whom they had shown so strong an attachment, was again restored.

Previous, however, to the empress's leaving the kingdom, she besieged the castle of Winchester, but the citizens of London, and many of the barons of the kingdom marched against her, and obliged her to raise the siege, after she had sustained considerable loss.

The castle of Farringdon, in Berkshire, being occupied by the friends of Matilda, King Stephen headed the citizens of London, who, marching against it, soon took it by storm.

In the year 1145, the price of an ox in London was three shillings: and we are told that in the year 1150 the summer proved so extremely wet, that a dearth almost equal to famine ensued; and the winter of this year was remarkable for a severe frost, which commenced on the ninth of December, and continued till the beginning of March, during a great part of which time, the Thames was frozen so hard as to admit of carts and other carriages passing over the ice.

CHAP. V.

CHAP. V.

The Commerce of London benefitted by the abolition of the feudal system.—Free gifts to Henry II.—Price of Provisions.—Coronation of Henry's Son and Daughter.—Charter to the Weaver's company.—Licentiousness of the citizens.—The Adulterine guilds amerced.—Henry the Second's Charter to the City.—The Chief Magistrate assists at the Coronation of Richard, in the quality of Chief Butler, by the title of Bailiff.—Massacre of the Jews.—The City ordered to provide arms, &c, for the Holy War.—Order relative to Buildings.—First Mayor.—Sedition of Fitz-osbert.—Charter relative to the Conservancy of the Thames.—The City provides a standard for weights and measures.

WE have now arrived at an important æra in the history of London, that of the foundation of its commercial greatness. In the early periods of its history, we have seen, that, from local advantages, it had arrived at a greater height, as a place of traffic, than the other towns of Britain; and this may be attributed as much to the influx of residents from foreign countries, as to its convenience for maintaining an intercourse with them.

Yet with all these advantages, while the feudal system prevailed to its full extent, the incentives to commerce were necessarily few; and the feudal lords, with their numerous feudatory sub-vassals, were not only troublesome, but frequently dangerous to the sovereign. Hence it became the interest of princes to form a new military power, by granting immunities to their best towns, which were beginning to recover from the devastations of the barbarous invaders of former times. Selden informs us that Henry II. demolished one thousand, one hundred and fifteen castles, which had been erected by the Barons during the civil war between Stephen and Matilda; a dangerous independent power. This scheme of forming a new power and revenue out of towns and cities, produced a double advantage to both prince and people: for, while it tended to weaken the feudal tenures, it gave, at the same time, a beginning to the commerce of these towns; the inhabitants of which agreed to pay an annual rent or fine to the crown, in consideration of their being endowed with sundry privileges, which protected them from the former arbitrary power of the feudal Lords or Barons. What the extent of this power was, is seen in the grant made by Matilda to the Earl of Essex, as related in the preceding chapter.

Madox, in his history of the Exchequer, Chap. x. fixes the commencement of this new constitution, as it may be termed, to the twenty-sixth year of King Henry II. when, *next after London*, the town of Southampton was the first to which such new privileges were granted. It is to be regretted that he did not notice when, and by whom, they were granted to London; though it is by no means improbable that it was indebted to his predecessor for them, as a reward for their firm adherence to his cause, which Henry never forgave, as is evident from the frequent demands of money which he made upon them.

But however it obtained its privileges, this is the period at which its commerce may be said to have had its origin. Weak and slow in its beginnings, when the foundation was once well laid, its progress was rapid, and, in the course of time, the traffic of London, and, with it, that of the whole kingdom, has increased beyond all conception. Hence Great Britain has become the common mart of all nations, and her naval power has acquired that superiority from which it can never fall, while her commerce retains its pre-eminence; for the history of every commercial state shows, that the declension of their power was uniformly preceded by a decay in their trade.

In the year 1158, the *donum* or free gift of the citizens of London, amounted to one thousand and forty three pounds. In 1159, it was one thousand marks. In 1170, six hundred and sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence: and the same sum in each of the years 1172 and 1173. In all three thousand seven hundred and nine pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence, which, judging from the value of provisions in that reign, compared with our own times, must have been exceedingly burthensome to the inhabitants.

Madox tells us* that "in the thirtieth of King Henry II. thirty-three cows and two bulls cost but eight pounds seven shillings; five hundred sheep cost but twenty-two pounds ten shillings, or about tenpence three farthings per sheep." And according to Bishop Fleetwood's Chronicon Preciosum, four hens were valued at twopence, and a ram at eightpence.

At the coronation of King Henry's son and daughter, in 1172, the sheriffs of London disbursed the money; among the items of which we find for the coronation robes, eighty-seven pounds ten shillings and fourpence: *Pro tribus pannis sericis*, *i. e.* for three pieces of silk, eight pounds six shillings; for silken cloths for the king, twenty-eight pounds.

It does not appear whether these silk stuffs were woven in London, or imported from the southern parts of France, with the coasts of which the English became first acquainted, in consequence of Henry's marriage with Eleanor, daughter of the Duke of Aquitain; but the existence of the weavers' company is proved by a charter of this king, which is mentioned by James Howell[*], "Granting to the weavers in London their guild, with all the freedom and customs they had in his grandfather's (Henry I.) days, yielding yearly for the same to him two marks of gold." Stow also quotes a charter of this king, importing "that if any cloth were found to be made of Spanish wool, mixed with English wool, the mayor of London should see it burnt." Which shows the antiquity of English woollen cloths being made of Spanish wool alone.

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* Baronia Anglica, Cap. XIV.

About this time the traffic with Bourdeaux for wines commenced.

Shortly after this the Londoners had reached such a pitch of licentiousness, that their prosperity seemed a curse rather than a blessing to them. The sons of the most eminent and wealthy citizens entered into a confederacy to commit burglaries, and to rob and murder all that came in their way in the night time. These disorders were, however, stopped, in 1157, by the execution of John Senex; who, though a very rich citizen, living in the greatest repute, had engaged in these enterprizes. He offered five hundred pounds weight of silver, a prodigious sum in those days, for his pardon, but it was refused, and Senex met the reward of his crimes, being hanged as a terror to the rest.

In consequence of the spirit of commerce spreading itself more and more, various fraternities or corporations were formed without the royal letters patent. These were opprobriously stiled *adulterine guilds*, and in 1180, were amerced to the king for their illegal and presumptuous proceedings; the heaviest penalty was inflicted on that called *gilda peregrinorum*, and amounted to forty shillings; but in general the fine was only one mark.

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[*] Londinopolis, p. 129.

The following charter, granted to the citizens of London by Henry II. is without a date; the time when it was given, cannot therefore be ascertained.

" Henry, King of England, Duke of Normandy " and Aquitain, and Earl of Anjou; To all Arch- " bishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Justices, " Sheriffs, Ministers, and all his faithful Subjects, " French and English, of all England, greeting.

" Know ye, that I have granted to my citizens of " London, that none of them plead without the " walls of the city of London, upon any pleas, ex- " cept only pleas of foreign tenures (my monyers " and officers excepted). Also I grant to them ac- " quittal of murder within the city and portsoken " thereof: and that none of them shall wage battle: " and of the pleas of the crown they may discharge " themselves, according to the old usage of the city. " No man shall take lodging by force, or by delivery " of the Marshall.

" And also I have granted to them, that all the " citizens of London shall be quit from toll and " lastage, throughout all England, and the ports of " the sea; and that none shall be adjudged for " amerciaments of money, but according to the law " of the city, which they had in the time of King " Henry my grandfather: and that there shall be no " miskenning in any plea within the city: and that " the hustings shall be kept once a week; and they " justly have their lands and tenures and premises, " and all their debts, whosoever do owe them: and " that right be done to them, according to the cus- " tom of the city, of all their lands and tenures " which be in the city; and of all their debts, which " were lent at London.

" Also I do grant to them, that they may have " their huntings, wheresoever they had the same

" in the time of King Henry my grandfather. And " if any in all England shall take any custom or toll " of or from the men of London, after he shall fail " of right, the Sheriff of London may take goods " thereof at London.

" Furthermore also, for the advancement of the " said city, I have granted to them, that they shall " be free and quit of Bridtoll, Childwite, Jeresgive, " and Scotale; so as the Sheriff of London, or any " other Bailiff, may take no Scotale.

" These aforesaid customs I do grant unto them, " and all their liberties and free customs which they " had in the time of Henry my grandfather, where-" soever they had them more better and free. Where-" fore I will and steadfastly command, that they and " their heirs may have and hold all these things " aforesaid, by inheritance, of me and my heirs.

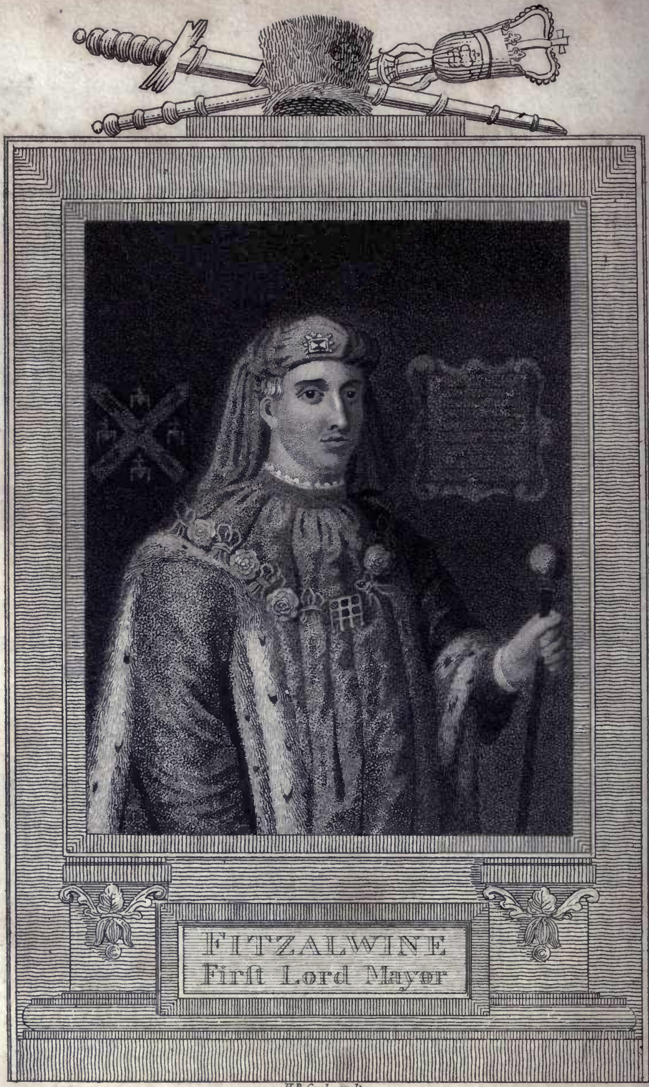
" Witness the Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert
" Bishop of London, Philip Bishop of Bath,
" Edward Bishop of Exon, Thomas Chancellor,
" Rich. of Newberry, R. of Warren, Rich. of
" St. Wal. Mamot. Rich. of Lucy, Conar, son
" of Garold, Mannel Bisset, Loc. Baillolio, at
" Westm."

This charter is a confirmation of the city liberties and immunities, with an addition of, 1. An acquittal of murder for the ward of Portsoken, which seems as if that ward had not been fully ascertained to the city till this time, seeing it was precluded this advantage in the charter of Henry I. 2. For the greater ease and benefit of the citizens, it is granted, that they shall be free from Bridtoll, Childwite, Jeresgive, and Scotale. Bridtoll is a toll paid for passing of bridges: Childwite is a fine taken of a bond-woman, for suffering herself to be got with child, without the consent of her lord or master: Jeresgive is a bribe given to the king's or other officers for connivance, and being favourable in their several offices: And Scotale or Scotales were abuses put upon the king's subjects by his officers, who kept alehouses, invited the people to drink, and fraudulently extorted money from them, under pretence of preventing their informing against them for some imaginary crimes. Those miscreants seem to have been countenanced in their villainous practices by some great men; seeing the city of London could not get rid of that vermin, without a special clause inserted in their charter.

A literal renewal of this charter was granted by King Richard, after his return from captivity, dated at Winchester, the 23rd of April, in the fifth year of our reign.

At the coronation of Richard I. in 1189, we find the chief magistrate of London, under the title of bailiff, officiating as chief butler. This office was afterwards contended for by the chief magistrate of Winchester, but on what grounds either side rested their pretensions, cannot now be ascertained; but according to Maitland, a free gift of two hundred marks was the cause of its being decided in favour of London. This post is both honourable and lucrative, as it confers the honour of presenting wine to the king in a golden cup, and the perquisite of retaining it, together with an ewer of the same metal. It has ever since been claimed by the mayors of London, by prescription.

A dreadful massacre of the Jews took place at this coronation, occasioned by the following circumstance: For some cause they were forbidden to appear at the ceremony; many, however, prompted by curiosity, attempted to get into Westminster abbey, but were repulsed by the attendants; and, a rumour being spread among the populace, that the king had given orders for their entire destruction, the mob, in the



FITZALWINE
First Lord Mayor

H.R.Cook. sculp.

Engraved for Lambert's History of London.

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the most barbarous manner, attacked these defenceless people; and not satisfied with murdering all who were unfortunate enough to fall in their way, proceeded to the city, where, with the most diabolical fury, they robbed their houses, massacreing all the inhabitants they could find, and then set fire to them.

This horrid deed, though it obtained the applause of some fanatical monks, excited the just indignation of the monarch; who issued orders for the immediate apprehension of those concerned in it, and several of the ringleaders were hanged on the following day.

Soon after his coronation, in pursuance of a treaty concluded between his late father and the King of France, Richard determined upon undertaking an expedition into Palestine; in furtherance of which, he directed his precept to Henry de Cornhill, Sheriff of London, to provide a certain number of helmets, steel caps, shields, knives, spears, iron, cordovan, pavilions, and other military accoutrements; together with silken habits, mitres, caps, dalmatiques, coats, and wine, for the king's use.

Houses of stone or brick were still very rare in London, nor was there yet any nightly watch; to guard, therefore, against thieves, as well as against fire, which last calamity was frequent, the houses being mostly of timber, covered with reeds, or straw, the following order* was issued, in 1191;

" Henry Fitz-Alwine being then mayor, it was
" provided and ordained by the discreeter men of the
" city, to appease contentions that might arise
" among neighbours in the city, upon inclosure
" between land and land, That twelve men, alder-
" men of the city, should be chosen in full hustenge,
" and there sworn, that they would perform it, and
" come at the mayor's summons, unless hindered by

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* Strype's Edit. of Stow's Survey.

" some reasonable cause; and to be present with the
" mayor, for executing the aforesaid business: And
" this was decided and confirmed in full hustenge."

By these jurats were regulated the dimensions of party-walls, which were to be of stone, and at least sixteen feet in height and three in thickness. Whence, I imagine, that the citizens' houses then were not above that altitude. These commissioners were also to give directions about girders, windows, gutters, and wells.

The title of bailiff was changed into that of mayor, by King Richard. Henry Fitz-Alwine, who was appointed to that office in 1189, retained it until 1212. All that is known of him is, that he was a descendant of Ailwyn, who had been alderman of all England; an officer, who, according to Spelman, was the same as was afterwards stiled chief justice of England.

In this year died William Fitz-stephen, a learned monk of Canterbury, born of respectable parents in the city of London, who, being attached to the service of Archbishop Becket, was present at the time of his murder. In the year 1174, he published the life of St. Thomas, Archbishop and Martyr, in Latin; in which, as Becket was a native of the metropolis, he introduced a description of the city of London, with a miscellaneous detail of the manners and usages of the citizens. This, being the earliest professed account of London extant, is deservedly considered as a great curiosity.

While Richard was in Palestine, Earl John, his brother, and afterwards king, with the Archbishop of Rouen, the bishops, earls, and barons, and the citizens of London, met in St. Paul's Cathedral, to deliberate upon the mal-administration of William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, Chancellor, and one of the Regents of the kingdom, who, by an unanimous resolution of the convention, was degraded from all his offices, for his tyrannical government and contumacious deportment. Here, according to Dr. Brady, a new charter and community was granted to the city of London, to be a corporation, for their ready concurrence in the above resolution. The Doctor seems doubtful, though without any good reason, whether this was not the first community granted to London, or whether they had one before, which was dissolved by Henry II. on account of the constant rebellion of the Londoners against his mother Matilda and himself. Yet he owns they had a mayor in the year preceding this: and the question is put beyond all dispute by the charter in the preceding chapter.

In return for this recognition of their privileges, for it was no more, the citizens swore to be true and faithful to their sovereign, King Richard, and his heirs; and that, if he died without issue, they would receive his brother John as king. This is an additional proof that no measure of consequence to the state was undertaken without asking the concurrence of the Londoners.

No one acquainted with the History of England is ignorant that, on his return from Palestine, King Richard was unjustly detained a prisoner by the Emperor Henry VI.

On his arrival in England, he was received into London with the greatest pomp and magnificence; and, soon after, the citizens paid fifteen hundred marks towards the king's ransom, which was not raised without difficulty throughout England.

A great disturbance took place in London, in the year 1196, occasioned by one William Fitz-osbert, alias Longbeard, and his adherents.

The person of Fitz-osbert was deformed, and he obtained the appellation of Longbeard, from his permitting his beard to grow to an unusual length, partly from an affectation of gravity, and partly in derision of the Norman custom of shaving the face.

The greatest enemies of Fitz-osbert acknowledge, that being a person of most powerful elocution, he became the professed advocate of the poorer citizens, against the oppressions of the more wealthy; and having frequently pleaded the cause of the poor before the magistrates, he became the idol of the lower orders of the people, who were universally at his devotion.

Matters being thus situated, Fitz-osbert began to act more openly, and made use of all his rhetoric to incense the people against a certain aid or tallage, which was to be raised for the service of the public.

Fitz-osbert insisted that this tax was proportioned in a very unjust manner, for that the poor were to bear the burden of almost the whole, while the rich were in a manner exonerated: and this insinuation wrought so powerfully on the minds of the people, that a tumult ensued near St. Paul's church, in which many of the citizens were killed.

Advice of this insurrection being transmitted to Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was the king's justiciary, that prelate summoned Fitz-osbert to appear before him, at a fixed time and place.

Fitz-osbert obeyed the summons, but was attended by such a numerous crowd of his adherents, that the archbishop, instead of seizing his person, thought it necessary for his own safety to dismiss him with a gentle reproof, and his advice not to appear in any unlawful assembly for the future.

The more wealthy among the citizens being greatly terrified at the proceedings of Fitz-osbert and his party, it was at length agreed that a number of men should lay in wait to seize him at a time when he had but few attendants; and an opportunity of this kind soon offered; but Fitz-osbert, with the few friends he had with him, made a most desperate defence; and, having possessed themselves of the church of St. Mary-le-bow, in Cheapside, they fortified the steeple, with a full determination of defending themselves till further assistance should arrive.

The situation of Fitz-osbert and his friends was no sooner known, than the populace, from all parts in and near the city, assembled in Cheapside, with the view of setting their champion at liberty: but the magistrates used such persuasive arguments, that the people were at length prevailed on to disperse.

Matters were in this situation, when a resolution was formed of setting fire to the steeple, so that Fitz-osbert and his abettors had no chance, but to force their way through the flames and fight for their lives, or be burnt on the spot.

It cannot be doubted but they chose the former expedient, as the less dreadful of the two; wherefore, making an impetuous sally, they endeavoured to seek their safety by wading through the blood of their opponents: but being overpowered by superior numbers, Fits-osbert and eight of his adherents were made prisoners, and committed to the Tower of London.

The next morning they were brought to their trial; and sentence of death being passed upon them, they were allowed only one night to make their peace with Heaven; for on the following day they were drawn by the feet through the city to a part of Smithfield, then called the Elms, where they were publicly executed, and then hung in chains.

Still, however, the disturbances were not wholly appeased; for the body of Fitz-osbert being taken down and carried away, a report was immediately propagated by a priest, who was a kinsman of the deceased, that several miracles had been wrought at the place of his execution.

Hereupon vast numbers of people resorted to Smithfield, many of whom picked up and carried away, as holy relics, pieces of the earth on which the blood of their champion had been spilt, while others continued there the whole night in the utmost fervor of devotion; nor did they quit the place till a military guard was sent, by whom they were at length, though with great reluctance on their part, dispersed to their respective habitations.

It was now thought necessary, in order to undeceive the deluded populace, to make public the life of Fitz-osbert, which was accordingly done by authority; his relation, the priest, was excommunicated for attempting to deceive the people, who hereupon applied quietly to their respective occupations, and all the riots and tumults subsided.

King Richard, in the eighth year of his reign, granted to the citizens of London the following charter, for which they paid him the sum of fifteen hundred marks.

" Richard, by the grace of God, King of Eng-
" land, Duke of Normandy, and Earl of Anjou; To
" his Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons,
" Justices, Sheriffs, Stewards, Castle-keepers, Con-
" stables, Bailiffs, Ministers, and all his faithful Sub-
" jects, greeting.

" Know ye all, that we for the health of our soul,
" and for the soul's health of King Henry our fa-
" ther, and all our ancestors' souls, and also for the
" commonweal of our city of London, and of all
" our realm, have granted and steadfastly command-
" ed, that all wares [wears] that are in the Thames

"be moved, wheresoever they shall be within the "Thames; and that no wares be put any where "within the Thames; also we have clearly quit-"claimed all that, which the keeper of our Tower "of London was wont yearly to receive of the said "wares. Wherefore we will and steadfastly com-"mand, that no keeper of the said Tower, at any "time hereafter, shall exact any thing of any one, "neither molest or burthen, or any demand make "of any person, by reason of the said wares: For it "is manifest to us; and by our right reverend father "Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, and other our "faithful subjects, it is sufficiently given us to un-"derstand, that great detriment and discommodity "hath grown to our said city of London, and also "to the whole realm, by occasion of the said wares: "which thing, to the intent it may continue for ever "firm and stable, we do fortify by the inscription of "this present page, and the putting to our seal.

"These being witnesses, John of Worcester, "Hugh of Coventry, Bishops; John Earl of "Moreton, Ralph Earl of Chester, Robert "Earl of Leicester, William Earl of Arundel, "William of St. Mary's church, Peter son of "Hereb, Matthew his brother, Simon of Ryma, "Scherio de Quineero. Given by the hand of "Eustace Dean of Salisbury, Vice-Chancellor, "then agent at the Isle of Audlyer, the four-"teenth day of July, in the eighth year of "our reign."

In this charter, it is observable, the citizens of London are impowered to remove all wears out of the river Thames, by which nuisances the navigation of this incomparable river was greatly obstructed: and, as a farther encouragement to the citizens, the king resigned all his right and pretensions to the annual duties arising thereby, which were paid to the officers of his Tower of London.

This is the first charter by which the city claims its jurisdiction and conservancy of the river Thames.

Such confidence also did Richard put in the wisdom and fidelity of the city of London, that when it was resolved to fix a standard of weights and measures for the whole realm, his majesty committed the execution thereof to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, whom he commanded to provide measures, gallons, iron rods, and weights for standards, to be sent to the several counties of England. This happened in 1198, at which time corn was advanced to the enormous price of 18s. 4d. per quarter.

CHAP. VI.

CHAP. VI.

King John erects Free Burghs.—Annual Magistracy.—The City obtains three Charters from the King.—Thirty-five Men chosen to maintain the Assizes.—The Privileges of the City guarded in the Charters to other Towns.—Weavers expelled the City.—The Exchange held upon Lease.—The Office of Chamberlain sold.—Dearth in consequence of a severe Frost.—Loyalty of the City.—Liberty of choosing a Mayor.—The Sheriffs Imprisoned for obstructing the King's Purveyor.—Parliament at St. Bride's.—The City Interdicted.—The Exchequer removed.—London Bridge burnt.—Baynard's Castle destroyed.—John's last Charter.—Many Fraternities formed.—Civil War.—The City taken Possession of by the Barons.—Magna Charta, and the Charter of Forests, obtained from John, but violated.—The City again Interdicted.—Attacked by the King.—Agrees to the Proposal of the Barons to offer the Crown to Louis.—Fits out a Fleet against the Pirates.—John's Death, and Departure of Louis.

KING Richard was succeeded, in 1199, by his brother John, who, notwithstanding all the faults which, it is to be feared, were too justly charged upon him, had some right notions for the advancement and prosperity of his towns and people. We find him, in the very first year of his reign, continuing the good practice he had began under his brother, and persisting in it notwithstanding his numerous misfortunes: this was the erecting his demesne towns into free burghs, which prepared the way for the gradual diffusion of commerce through his dominions. Instead of the king's collectors having the power, as formerly, of levying sundry tolls, taxes, and customs from towns, there was now only one annual sum paid, which was called the fee-farm rent of each respective burgh: this sum was raised by the corporation, by a general assessment. Before his time the crown had also always appointed a chief officer who ruled them, sometimes arbitrarily enough, and raised the several taxes: King John gave the townsmen the privilege of electing their chief officer, annually, out of their own body. From this privilege arises the present annual magistracy of corporations. Speed says, p. 506, "King John was either the first or the chiefest who appointed those noble forms of civil government in London, and most cities and corporate towns of England; endowing them also with their greatest franchises." This is confirmed by Camden, Rapin, and others.

But there were some other peculiar privileges bestowed on particular favourite places, such as London and the Cinque Ports, which were not communicated to the rest; because the inhabitants of those places were always obliged to attend our kings with their shipping, for a limited time, at their own charge.

Thus we find that in this year the city got three charters from King John. The first was a recital and confirmation of all the former charters of their liberties obtained from Henry I. and II. and Richard I. with the addition that "all the citizens of London shall be quit from toll or lastage; and every other custom throughout all our lands, on this side, and beyond the seas;" but none further back, which shows, as Dr. Brady observes, "that the grants of privileges by William the Conqueror, are rather to be deemed declarations of the rights which the citizens of London had enjoyed under their Saxon kings, than new charters."

For this charter the king got from the city, or in the language of some historians, extorted three thousand marks, which, considering the value of money at that time, is an undoubted proof that London must have been a place of great wealth.

By the second, which is subjoined, the jurisdiction of the city is extended over the river Medway, and a power is granted to inflict a penalty on the erection of wears in either river.

" John, by the grace of God, King of England, " Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy, Aquitain, " and Earl of Anjou; To his Archbishops, Bishops, " Abbots, Earls, Barons, Justices, Sheriffs, Stewards, " Castle-keepers, Constables, Bailiffs, Ministers, and " all his faithful Subjects, greeting.

" Know ye all, that we for our soul's health, and " for the soul's health of Henry our father, and all " our predecessors; and also for the commonweal of " our city of London, and all our realm; have granted and steadfastly commanded, that all the wares " [or wears] which are in the Thames or in the Medway, be amoved, wheresoever they shall be within the Thames and the Medway; and that no " wares from henceforth be put any where in the " Thames or Medway, upon forfeiture of ten pounds " sterling; also we have clearly quit-claimed all that, " which the keepers of the Tower of London were " wont yearly to receive of the said wares: wherefore we will and stedfastly command, that no keeper " of the said Tower, at any time hereafter, exact any " thing from any body, nor trouble or molest any " person, by reason of the said wares; for it is sufficiently manifest to us, by the right reverend " Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, and other our " faithful subjects, it is given us sufficiently to understand, that very great detriment and discommodity hath grown to our said city of London, and " also to our realm, by occasion of these wares; " which to the intent it may continue both firm and "stable for ever, we do fortify the same by inscription* of this present page, and putting to our seal.

"These being witnesses, William of London, "Eustace of Ely, Godfrey of Winchester, "Bishops; Jeffrey, son of Peter, Earl of Essex; "William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke; H. "Earl of Warren; Earl Rogers Pigott; R. Earl "of Clare: Earl de Braos; Robert, son of Roger, "Hugh Bord, William Brewer, Stephen Turnham, William Warren, Simon of Pattishell: "Given by the hands of Hubert, Archbishop "of Canterbury our chancellor, at Shoreham, "the seventeenth day of June, in the first year "of our reign."

The third charter, which was granted but a few days after the second, exhibits peculiar marks of the king's regard to the city of London; for his majesty therein grants them the fee-farm of the Sheriffwicks of London and Middlesex, of which they had been deprived by Matilda, at the ancient rent; and likewise allows them the power of choosing their own sheriffs.

The following is a copy of this charter:

"John, by the grace of God, King of England, "Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy, Aquitain, "and Earl of Anjou; To his Archbishops, Bishops, "Abbots, Earls, Barons, Justices, Sheriffs, Rulers, "and to all his Bailiffs and loving Subjects.

"Know ye, that we have granted, and by this "our present writing confirmed, to our citizens of "London

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[*] Mr. Entick, speaking of this charter, says, "And Calthorp, in his Tract of the City Liberties, page 15, remarks, that this is the *first* charter of London, to which he had seen, or ever heard of a king's hand, as well as his seal being set." But he must have been in an error, since that of Richard, to the same effect, is also signed and sealed.

" London, the Sheriffwicks of London and Middle-" sex, with all the customs and things to the sheriff-" wick belonging, within the city and without, by " land and by water, to have and to hold to them and " their heirs, of us and our heirs, paying therefore " three hundred pounds of blank sterling money, at " two terms in the year; that is to say, at the Easter " exchequer, one hundred and fifty pounds; and at " Michaelmas exchequer, one hundred and fifty " pounds; saving to the citizens of London all their " liberties and free customs.

" And further, we have granted to the citizens of " London, that they amongst themselves make " sheriffs whom they will; and may amove them " when they will; and those whom they make " sheriffs, they shall present to our justices of our " exchequer, of these things, which to the said " sheriffwick appertain, whereof they ought to an-" swer us; and unless they shall sufficiently answer " and satisfy, the citizens may answer and satisfy us " the amerciaments and farm, saving to the said citi-" zens their liberties as is aforesaid; and saving to " the said sheriffs the same liberties, which other " citizens have: so that, if they which shall be ap-" pointed sheriffs for the time being, shall commit " any offence, whereby they ought to incur any amer-" ciament of money, they shall not be condemned " for any more than to the amerciament of twenty " pounds, and that without the damage of other " citizens, if the sheriffs be not sufficient for the " payment of their amerciaments: but, if they do " any offence, whereby they ought to incur the loss " of their lives or members; they shall be adjudged, " as they ought to be, according to the law of the " city; and of these things, which to the said sheriffs " belong, the sheriffs shall answer before our jus-" tices at our exchequer, saving to the said sheriffs

" the liberties which other citizens of London
" have.

" Also this grant and confirmation we have made
" to the citizens of London for the amendment of
" the said city, and because it was in ancient times
" farmed for three hundred pounds: wherefore we
" will and steadfastly command, that the citizens of
" London and their heirs may have and hold the
" sheriffwick of London and Middlesex, with all
" things to the said sheriffwick belonging, of us and
" our heirs, to possess and enjoy hereditarily, freely
" and quietly, honourably and wholly, by fee-farm
" of three hundred pounds; and we forbid that none
" presume to do any damage, impediment, or dimi-
" nishment to the citizens of London of these things,
" which to the said sheriffwick do or were accustom-
" ed to appertain: also we will and command, that
" if we or our heirs, or any of our justices, shall
" give or grant to any person any of those things
" which to the farm of the sheriffwick appertain,
" the same shall be accounted to the citizens of
" London, in the acquittal of the said farm at our
" exchequer.

" Witness Edward of Ely, Savarick of Bath,
" Bishops; William Marshal, Earl of Pem-
" broke, Ralph, Earl of Chester; William,
" Earl of Arundel; Robert, son of Walter;
" William, son of Albin: Given by the hands
" of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, our
" Chancellor, at the good town upon Toke,
" the fifth day of July, in the first year of
" our reign."

It is observable that, in this charter, the fee-farm of the sheriffwick is conveyed to the citizens of London for a valuable consideration, and that the legal terms *to have and to hold*, which are now considered as essential in all conveyances, are here made use of for the first time.

There was a national synod at Westminster, in the year 1200; the first canon of it relates to the pronunciation of divine service, which appears to have been very negligently performed at that period.

In the same year, according to Arnold's Chronicle, thirty-five men were chosen by the wise men of the city, and sworn to maintain the assizes in London.

It may be reasonably inferred from the charters, by which the other principal towns of England were, at this time, erected into free burghs, that the importance of London to the state was such as to induce the monarchs to grant it privileges superior to the rest, for many of them contain this remarkable exception, "enjoying all the liberties and free usages of any town belonging to the king, *London excepted*." An instance of this description occurs in the year 1201, in the charter to Bridgewater.

In the third year of his reign, King John granted the city a fourth charter, by which, "at the request of the mayor and citizens of London, the guild of weavers shall not from thenceforth be in the city of London, neither shall be at all maintained." It does not appear, either by this charter, or by any other document now in existence, what occasioned this request of the citizens, for it is absurd to suppose, with some historians, that the addition of two marks to the royal revenue could have procured it. It is much more probable that the difference in the value of money occasioned the alteration, the sum paid to the exchequer by the weavers being then eighteen marks; and that required of the city, as a compensation for the loss of it being but twenty.

From Madox's History of the Exchequer we learn that, in 1204, Guy de Von stood indebted to the crown in the sum of one thousand and sixty-six pounds eight shillings, and four-pence for arrears of rent of the *Cambium*, or Exchange of London, which had been let upon lease to him for a term of years. This is a satisfactory proof that the trade of London must have been very considerable at that time.

The office of chamberlain of London, which was also vested in the crown, appears to have been very profitable about the same period; for, in this year, William de St. Michael obtained it for a fine of one hundred pounds, and an annual rent of a hundred marks.

This year began with a very severe frost, which set in on new-year's day, and continued till the nineteenth, or, according to Arnold's Chronicle, till the twenty-fifth of March: a great part of the seed in the ground having been destroyed by it, the price of wheat was raised to twelve shillings per quarter. This dearth gives us no certain criterion for adjusting the proportion of the rate of living then to our own times, since we are unacquainted with the value of the other necessaries of life: but, judging from the price of wheat, which is undoubtedly the best single guide we can have, it must have been nearly as five to one.

In the following year the city had an opportunity of showing their affection to the king, on the arrival of the Emperor Otho, his nephew, whom they received and entertained in a most magnificient and princely manner. And again, in 1207, when they made him a present of three hundred pounds, and also paid him two hundred marks to be excused the fifteenth imposed upon merchants.

Soon after this they were charged with the sum of one thousand pounds towards defraying the expenses of the king's expedition against the Scots.

The city of London may, in some measure, be said to have been first made a free city by King John, in the year 1207, when, according to some authors, they had liberty to choose a mayor out of their own body, annually, which office had been before for life: but Sir Richard Baker places this event in the tenth year of his reign, or two years later, though probably his fifth charter, which will be inserted in its place, was the original grant.

In 1209, the king's purveyor having bought a quantity of corn in London, Roger Winchester and Edmund Hardell, the Sheriffs, would not permit him to carry it off; which so highly incensed the king, that he sent a positive command to the council of the city (which consisted of five-and-thirty members) to degrade and imprison the sheriffs; which being done, in obedience to the royal precept, the council sent a deputation to the king at Langley, to intercede for their unfortunate sheriffs; and to assure his majesty that what they had done was not out of any disrespect to him, but purely to prevent an insurrection, which was then threatened, and, at that critical juncture, might have proved dangerous to the royal affairs; which reason proved so satisfactory to the king, that he gave orders for their immediate discharge.

The king's necessities increasing by the intrigues of the church of Rome with his ecclesiastical subjects, his majesty called a parliament* at his palace at St. Bride's, on the spot where Bridewell now stands, in which he exacted a hundred thousand pounds from the clergy and religious houses, and forty thousand pounds from the white friars, or monks in particular; for which reason, the writers among them make him as black as they can possibly draw him.

Soon after this, the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, the rebellious instruments of Pope Innocent, laid the city of London, and other parts of the kingdom, under an interdict, because the king refused to obey the imperious orders of the See of Rome. Whereupon,* all churches and church-yards were shut up; divine service ceased in all places; there was no administration of Sacraments, except to infants and dying persons; and, all ecclesiastical rites being omitted, the bodies of the dead were buried in the highways and ditches without the performance of funeral service.

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* Matt. Par. M. S

Still the city of London persevered in their attachment to their lawful sovereign, and would have continued to support him with their lives and fortunes, against foreign incroachments; but his weakness drove him to take such steps, as, at last, alienated the hearts of his faithful subjects, and obliged his loyal Londoners to join the barons in defence of the national interest.

The first act of his displeasure was to remove the exchequer from London to Northampton. And the public safety growing every day more dubious, the citizens thought it incumbent upon them to put their city in a better posture of defence. For which purpose, in the year 1211, they began to strengthen their walls with a deep ditch, two hundred feet wide, which was finished in two years; being somewhat retarded by an extraordinary accident of fire on London-bridge, about four years after the bridge had been finished, on the 10th of July, 1212, in the night, which began in Southwark; where, the flames taking hold of St. Mary Overy's, then called Our Lady of the Canons, communicated by a strong south wind, to the north end of the bridge, which interrupted the passage, and stopt the return of the multitude that had run from London to extinguish the fire: and while the confused multitude were attempting to force a passage through the flames at the north end of the bridge the fire broke out at the south end also. Thus they were enclosed between two raging fires; and above three thousand people either perished in the flames, or were drowned by over-loading the boats that ventured to their assistance. The bridge was greatly damaged, and a great part of the city was consumed.

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* Maitland's Hist. of London, vol. I. p. 75.

The next token of his displeasure was his command to destroy Baynard's castle, at the south end of Thames-street; and the stately palace of Robert Fitzwater, castellain and standard-bearer of the city, who, having taken part with the malecontent barons, and refused to give security for his fidelity to the king, had fled to France.

His majesty then, in 1213, summoned a convention of the states of the kingdom at St. Paul's cathedral, where he made, or rather renewed, before Nicholas, the pope's legate, his infamous subjection of his crown, which he had formerly made to the pope, before his legate, Pandulph; and agreed to pay an extraordinary sum of money to the pope for taking off the national interdict; towards which, the citizens of London were obliged to pay two thousand marks: but to prevent as much as possible those murmurs which he had but too much reason to apprehend, he granted the citizens his fifth and last charter, a copy of which we have subjoined.

" John, by the grace of God, King of England, " Duke of Normandy, Aquitain, and Earl of Anjou; " To his Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, " Justices, Sheriffs, Rulers, and to all his faithful " Subjects, greeting:

" Know ye, that we have granted, and by this our " present writing confirmed, to our barons of our " city of London, that they may choose to them-

"selves every year a mayor, who to us may be "faithful, discreet, and fit for government of the city, "so as, when he shall be chosen, to be presented "unto us, or our justice (if we shall not be "present); and he shall swear to be faithful to "us; and that it shall be lawful to them, at the end "of the year, to amove him, and substitute another, "if they will, or the same to retain, so as he be pre-"sented unto us, or our justice, if we shall not be "present. We have granted to the same our "barons, and by this, our present charter, confirmed, "that they well and in peace, freely, quietly, and "wholly, have all their liberties, which hitherto they "have used, as well in the city of London as with-"out, as well by water as by land, and in all other "places, saving to us our chamberlainship: Where-"fore we will and streightly command, that our "aforesaid barons of our aforesaid city of London, "may choose unto themselves a mayor of them-"selves, in manner and form aforesaid; and that "they may have all the aforesaid liberties well and "in peace, wholly and fully, with all things to the "same liberties appertaining, as is aforesaid.

"Witness, the Lords, P. of Winton, William "of Worcester, William of Coventry, Bishops; "William Brigword; Peter, son of Herbert; "Godfrey d'Lucy; and John, son of Hugh. "Given by the hands of Mr. Richard Har-"rister, our Chancellor, at the New Temple, "London, the nineteenth day of May, in the "sixteenth year of our Reign."

However inimical the other parts of this king's conduct may have been to the liberties of the subject, the charters granted by him to London, and every other town of consequence in his dominions, laid the foundation of that secure intercourse, without

out which, commerce will unavoidably be cramped, if it is not wholly annihilated. Thus we find that as soon as this charter was obtained, many fraternities were formed in London, which continued and flourished for a long time before they were incorporated by charter.

The contest between the king and the barons at length assumed a serious aspect, for, having assembled in great numbers at St. Edmundsbury, under pretence of devotion, they took a solemn oath at the altar of the church, that they would repair to the king, and demand a re-establishment of King Edward's laws, and a confirmation of all the constitutional acts, contained in the charter of Henry I. and, if the king refused to comply with their demand, to compel his acquiescence by force of arms.

In pursuance of this resolution, they, in the beginning of January, 1214, repaired to London, and, going to the new temple (where now stand the inns of court), the residence of the king, they made their demands; alleging, that they required nothing but what he had solemnly sworn to grant at the time of his absolution at Winchester.

John could not deny that he had made such a promise; but in order to put off the evil day, he desired till Easter to give his answer. This was complied with; but instead of giving an answer to the satisfaction of the barons, he then treated their demand with the utmost contempt.

Hereupon the barons, resolving to effect by force what they could not obtain from the favour and justice of the king, set on foot a private negotiation with some of the principal citizens of London, who soon prevailed on their fellow citizens to join in opposing a prince who had always considered his own arbitrary will as a law, and had oppressed his subjects to a degree not to be born by a free and spirited people.

The army of the barons was at this time encamped at Bedford; where private messengers arrived from London, with advice that the city was ready to admit them, provided they made their approaches with secrecy and resolution.

On receipt of this agreeable intelligence, they proceeded to Ware in Hertfordshire, and marching from thence in the night, arrived at London early in the morning of Sunday the twenty-fourth of May, without the king's receiving the least intelligence of their approach, notwithstanding he was at that time in the Tower of London.

The gates being opened for their reception, they entered the city by Aldgate, and being joined by their friends, took possession of the city, while the greater part of the inhabitants were employed at their devotions.

They now began to plunder the houses of the royalists and Jews, the latter of which they pulled down, and repaired the city walls with the ruins thereof.

Their next step was to besiege the Tower of London; and as their numbers increased every day, by the junction of the nobility and gentry, the king found himself under a necessity of endeavouring to compromise all matters in dispute between him and his discontented subjects.

With this view he offered to refer the decision of the matter to four noblemen to be chosen from each party, and to leave the arbitration of the whole to the pope: but this proposal being rejected, he submitted at discretion, promised to grant them all their demands, and consented to send commissioners to a conference to be held between Staines and Windsor.

Accordingly, on the fifteenth day of July, the barons made their appearance, and, after a conference of a few days, the deputies adjusted the articles of the two valuable charters, called Magna Charta, and Charta de Foresta, in the former of which it is expressly stipulated, that " the city of London shall have all its ancient privileges and free customs, as well by land as by water."

Both these charters were solemnly ratified on Runnemead, near Staines; but so far from being a security to the people, they will remain an everlasting example that when princes are not sincere, they will not be bound by a roll of parchment. London, and the whole nation were contented, and would have been obedient to the king under these charters: but John being dissatisfied with what he had done, not only applied to the pope for an absolution from his oath, but also to several foreign princes for aid, promising to reward his supporters with the estates of the rich barons; by this means he soon found himself at the head of a vast army of soldiers of fortune, who flocked to his standard from Flanders, Brabant, Normandy, Poictou, and Gascony.

The barons, finding themselves unable to withstand so great a power, retired within the walls of London, whither they were soon followed by a thundering bull from Rome, whereby they were all excommunicated, and their lands interdicted, and this punishment was also extended to the city for having joined them: but* both the barons and the citizens received these anathemas with the most perfect indifference, contending that, as the bull of excommunication had been obtained upon false pretences, it was void, and of no effect; and, moreover, that the pope had nothing to do with secular matters; to which they added, that the clergy, who understood griping and simony much better than the grounds of war, would needs make themselves absolute by their spiritual authority, and domineer over the world with their excommunications.

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* Matt. Par. Hist. Angl.

The king being master of all the open country, ravaged and destroyed the lands of his opponents, and at length advanced with an intention of storming the city of London, and delivering it up to his foreign adventurers, to be sacked and pillaged.

In this situation, with plunder, destruction, and slavery at their gates, they consented to the desperate and dangerous proposal of the barons, to offer the crown to Louis, the eldest son of Philip, King of France, if he would bring a sufficient force to preserve them from ruin, and swear to maintain them in their ancient laws, rights, and privileges: this proposal was eagerly accepted by Philip.

In the interim, John advanced to the attack of the city, but, on the approach of his forces, the citizens, instead of being intimidated, opened their gates, and marched out to give them battle, choosing rather to die bravely in the field, than to perish within their walls. This resolution was followed by the most complete success: the advanced party of the royal army were entirely routed, with a considerable loss in killed and wounded, among whom was their general, Savarie de Malleon. This rough reception convinced the king of the impracticability of the attempt, and he preferred withdrawing his army to risquing a general engagement with the brave and resolute Londoners.

About this time* the citizens fitted out a powerful fleet, to clear the coast of numerous pirates, who infested the mouth of the river Thames, so that the trade of the city was almost intirely lost; and, having engaged and defeated these combined robbers, took and destroyed sixty-five of their ships: hence we may judge of the formidable state of the city at that time, when it was not only capable of defending itself against the king, though then in possession of all other parts of the kingdom; but likewise at the same time to send out so potent a navy, as was able to destroy such a mighty band of confederated and desperate pirates.

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* Stow, An. Engl.

Louis, on hearing of the bravery of the Londoners, sent a messenger with a letter of thanks, exhorting them to persevere, and promising them speedy and powerful assistance. Soon after this, he arrived at Sandwich, with a fleet of six hundred ships, from whence he proceeded to London with his army, and on his march attacked and reduced the castle of Rochester. On his arrival, the citizens gave him a most magnificent and pompous welcome, and, at the same time, he received the homage of them and the barons, to whom he swore to restore good laws, and their lost estates.

The Londoners never departed from this engagement; but, upon the demise of King John, William, Earl of Pembroke, who took the part of Henry his son, and had him crowned, prevailed with forty of the barons to desert their protector Louis, and to submit to the young king. This defection, with the decrease of the French army, in a long course of hard service, obliged Louis to agree to a truce. In which time he went to France, and returned with fresh supplies to London.

The king's troops had already taken the field, and sat down before the castle of Mount Sorel, in Leicestershire. For the relief of which he detached 20,000 regular troops, and 600 knights, who obliged the Earl of Chester to raise the siege. They then marched to Lincoln; where they were defeated by the king's forces. Which, with the loss of a powerful supply cut off at sea by a fleet from the Cinque Ports, obliged Louis to shut himself up in London. And though he was there blocked up both by land and water, he would not treat of peace without such conditions as were consistent with his honour, and the safety of those, who invited him over; and in particular, he took care that the ancient rights and privileges of the city should be confirmed. The Londoners, on their part, gratefully acknowledged this generosity, by lending him 5000 marks, to discharge his debts, before he departed for France.

CHAP. VII.

The City out of favour at Court during the King's Minority.—Taxed for the Privilege of selling Cloth called Burels.—Suburbs increased by Buildings in the Forest of Middlesex.—Newgate repaired by the King.—Foreign Merchants expelled the City.—Wrestling Match, and Tumult in Consequence.—Magna Charta confirmed.—Henry extorts 5000 Marks from the Citizens.—His Five Charters.—The City Tallaged.—Duration of the Sheriff's Office regulated.—More Extortions.—Disgrace of Hubert de Burg.—Origin of the Custom of tendering Six Horse Shoes when the Sheriffs are sworn in.—A Sheriff fined.—Rejoicings at the King's Marriage.—The City first supplied with Water by Pipes.—Charter to the Steel-yard Merchants.—The King's Mandamus to choose a Sheriff.—The Mayor degraded.—Repairs and additional Fortifications at the Tower.—The Jews obliged to pay 20,000 Marks.—Aldermen first chosen.—A large Loan exacted.—Further Extortions.—New Ordinance respecting Buildings.—Grant towards rebuilding Westminster Abbey.—The King applies to the City for a Keeper of the Mint.—Queenhithe purchased.—The City Seal used by Parliament.—Tothill Fair.—An Alderman degraded.—Refusal of the Citizens to engage in the Crusades punished by the King.—Quarrel with the King's Servants.—A Custos set over the City.—New Charter.

WHEN Henry III. succeeded his father, he was not more than nine years of age, so that the early transactions of this reign can only be considered as the consequences of the disposition of his tutors, who having continued to adhere to John during all his reverses of fortune, felt little inclination to show any favour to those who had deserted him. Hence, notwithstanding the citizens of London received their new king with every public demonstration of joy, they were not exempt from the jealousy and dislike conceived by the court against all the opponents of John.

We learn from Madox's History of the Exchequer, that in 1218, the citizens were compelled to pay a tax of forty marks, for the privilege of selling a certain sort of cloth called burels, which was not two yards within the lists, the breadth required by law.

In the same year, the forest of Middlesex being disforested, the citizens took that opportunity of purchasing lands, and building thereon, whereby the suburbs of the city were considerably enlarged.

About the same time the king ordered the sheriffs of London to repair the prison of Newgate, and directed that the money disbursed for this purpose should be allowed in their accounts: from which it should appear that Newgate was not, at that time, under the management of the city.

The displeasure of the court was again shown in 1220, when a proclamation was issued commanding all foreign merchants to depart the city by Michaelmas day, which drew thirty marks from the Anseatic company of the Steel-yard to have seisin of their guild, or hall, in Thames-street.

But the year 1222 furnished the king's advisers with the most plausible pretext for exercising their hostility to the city. A wrestling match being held at Matilda's hospital (now St. Giles's in the Fields), and the citizens greatly excelling the people of Westminster both in strength and activity, the Abbot of Westminster's steward, mortified at the superiority of the Londoners, offered a ram as a prize to be wrestled for on the first day of August; and the unsuspecting citizens accepting the invitation, were set upon by a body of desperate, armed ruffians, who wounded many of them, and drove the rest from the field in the utmost confusion.

The Londoners, in revenge for the affront that had been offered them, resolved to punish the authors of it, and a prodigious number of them being assembled, and headed by one Constantine Fitz-Arnulph, a citizen of great property, they proceeded to Westminster, crying, "*Mount Joye, Mount Joye, God help us and our Lord Louis,*" and returned to London in triumph, after having pulled down several houses which were the property of the abbot and his perfidious steward.

The citizens hearing that a complaint was made to Philip Dawbney, one of the king's council, of the damage done to the abbot's property, beset his house, beat his servants, and took away twelve of his horses; and the abbot, endeavouring to make his escape by means of a back-door, was discovered by some of the mob, and pelted to the river side, where he took water, and escaped their fury.

Shortly after this transaction, the mayor, and principal citizens were summoned to attend Hubert de Burg, the chief justiciary, at the tower of London; where it being demanded who was the ringleader of the rioters, Fitz-Arnulph said he was happy that he could say it was himself: upon this bold confession, the justiciary dismissed all the company except Fitz-Arnulph, his nephew, and one Geoffery, and though he offered fifteen thousand marks for his pardon, they were all three hanged the next morning.

Many others of the rioters were afterwards apprehended by the justiciary, who, without the least form of trial, ordered their hands and feet to be cut off, and their bodies burnt: and not contented with the grievous cruelties he had inflicted, he degraded the mayor and aldermen, and, having placed a *custos* over the city, obliged thirty persons of great property to become sureties for the good behaviour of the citizens: the king also obliged the citizens to pay him many thousand marks before he would be reconciled to them.

These arbitrary proceedings against London being canvassed by the representatives of the nation, in the parliament which assembled in 1224, they began to be apprehensive that they were to experience the same want of faith in this as in the former reign; wherefore, they addressed his majesty, that he would be pleased to confirm the charter of liberties which he had sworn to observe: and, the court not being in a condition to quarrel with the whole nation, he at length consented, for in the year 1225, we find that King Henry III. confirmed MAGNA CHARTA in full parliament, at Westminster, with more than usual solemnity: in the ninth article of which, all the ancient rights and privileges of the city of London are ratified. But this clause * cost the citizens a fifteenth of all their personal estates.

In the same year Henry exempted the citizens from all prosecutions on account of listed-cloths or burels; and also granted the commonalty of the city a right to have a common seal.

King Henry had no sooner assumed the reins of government, than he began to show himself in his true colours, and to act the tyrant with a high hand.

His first attempt was upon the citizens of London, from whom he extorted 5000 marks, declaring that as they had *given* that sum to his enemy Louis, they should also give a like sum to him, which they were compelled to do. And under pretence of having given them five charters, he obliged them to pay another fifteenth of their personal estates.

The first of these charters, dated 18 Feb. anno reg. XI. is a recital and confirmation of King John's charter, granting the sheriffwick of London and Middlesex to the citizens of London (see p. 82.)

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* Maitland's Hist. of London, Vol. I. p. 79.

The second, which bears the same date, is a recital and confirmation of that charter of King John which allows the citizens to choose their own mayor (see p. 89). The third, which also bears the same date, is a recital and confirmation of King John's charter relative to the conservancy of the rivers Thames and Medway (see p. 81). The fourth, dated 16 March, anno reg. XI. recites and confirms the charters of Henry I. and II. concerning the acquittal of murder, pleadings, toll, recovery of debts, right of hunting, and releasement from bridtoll, childwite, jeresgive, and scotale (see p. 68). But the fifth was a grant to the citizens of London, and others, who had lately purchased lands in the disforested warren of Stains, in Middlesex, in these words:—

"Henry, by the grace of God, &c. Know ye, "that we have granted, and by this present charter "confirmed, for us and our heirs, unto, &c. freeholders, and to all the county of Middlesex, that "all the warren of Stains, with the appurtenances, "be unwarrened and disforested for ever; so that "all the aforesaid, and their heirs and successors, "may have all liberties and benefit of warren and "forest, in the aforesaid warren; wherein they may "till or plough all their lands, and cut all their "woods, and dispose of the same at their will, without the view or contradiction of our warreners or "foresters, and all their ministers: and within the "which, no warrener or forester, or justice of our "forest, shall or may any thing meddle with their "lands or woods; neither with their herbage, hunting, or corn; neither by any summons or distress, "shall cause them, their heirs or successors, to come "before our justices of the forest or warreners, by "occasion of the lands and tenements situate in those

" parts where the said warreners were wont to be; " but that they, and their heirs and successors, and " their lands and tenements contained in these parts, " be quit and free from all exactions, occasions, demands, and attachments, and of all things which " belong to warrens or forests. Wherefore we will " and steadfastly command, that all the aforesaid, " holding lands and tenements within the said parts, " and their heirs and successors, for ever, have the " aforesaid liberties and freedoms; and that their " lands and tenements aforesaid be unwarrened and " disforested, for ever, and quit from all things, which " either to warren or forest, warreners or foresters, " pertain. Witness, &c. 18 Aug. anno reg. XI."

At the same time, Stowe affirms, that the king granted, that each sheriff should have two clerks and two serjeants; but upon what authority, or for what reason, does not appear; for certainly, as the right of chusing sheriffs was now and had been long a chartered privilege of the city, the king had no right to interfere with the management of the sheriff's office; and the sheriffs had the sole right to appoint such officers or ministers, as they thought necessary and expedient to execute that trust, with which they were charged by their fellow citizens, and for which they were accountable.

The great sums paid by the city for these pretended favours, which were their chartered and covenanted rights, did not satisfy him: For, in the year 1229, he demanded a very large sum of them, as a ransom to redeem the king's favour, which was called a tallage; it was levied partly by a poll-tax, and partly by a discretionary rate upon every ward, and was collected by the aldermen. None of the historians of the time state the amount of the sum; but, from the rates upon some individuals, and the populousness of the city, it must have been immense. Many of the principal citizens were assessed at ten and twelve marks each, others at forty; and one William Fitz-Adams at a hundred shillings.

A tallage, which in this instance, was arbitrarily demanded, was an aid required by the king or lord of the demesne, on extraordinary and known occasions. This, and the fee-farm rent, were the considerations for the liberty of buying and selling toll free, or in lieu of the arbitrary tolls and customs, which had formerly been payable to the king, as well as to the lords and ecclesiastical communities, for goods bought and sold in markets and fairs. The free burgesses, or inhabitants of free towns, who alone were liable to it, were also thereby exempted from the old customs of pontage, passage, paiage, lastage, stallage, and carriage, all of which were unsettled, and varied at the will of the receiver.

It having been discovered that many of the preceding sheriffs had taken bribes from victuallers, to wink at the mal-practices, and had also extorted money on various pretences from their fellow citizens, an ordinance was issued by the magistrates of the city, in the year 1230, that in future, the sheriffs should not continue longer than one year in office.

In 1232, a considerable part of the city was again destroyed by fire, and while the inhabitants were still labouring under the effects of this dreadful calamity, the sum of twenty thousand pounds was extorted from them, for the king's use, though upon what pretence does not appear.

About this time their virulent enemy, Hubert de Burg, incurred the king's displeasure, and, on being called to account for his receipts and disbursements in the public service, fled to Merton Priory for sanctuary. This so exasperated Henry, that he issued a proclamation, that all such persons as had any complaint to make against the justiciary, should immediately lay a statement of their grievances before him. Upon which, the citizens accused him of arbitrary and illegal proceedings in respect of the execution of Constantine Fitz-Arnulph and his companions, and also with many acts of extortion and injustice. A precept was immediately sent to the mayor, to repair to Merton, and seize and bring Hubert to London. But, while they were making preparations to carry the king's order into execution, Ranulph, Earl of Chester, applied to Henry in behalf of the justiciary, and obtain a recall of his majesty's former orders, to the great disappointment of the citizens.

The year 1235 is memorable for the origin of the payment or tender of six horse-shoes, with the nails thereunto belonging, by the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, at the time of their being sworn into their office before the chief baron of the Exchequer. This custom arose from the possession of a piece of ground in the Strand, within the parish of St. Clement Danes, to which they had a right by a grant from Walter de Bruin, a farrier, who, in this year, purchased the same of the crown for erecting a forge, on condition of paying the said number of shoes and nails annually into the Exchequer. This piece of ground is not now in the possession of the city.

From Rymer's Foedera,[*] it appears, that Henry was engaged to pay two hundred pounds sterling, or eight hundred livres tournois, annually for five years from this date, to the master and brothers of the Temple in London, to be remitted to the templars, in Paris, for the use of the Count de Marche, in consideration of our king's keeping the island of Oleron. This is the first authentic account of the proportion between the pound sterling and the livre tournois.

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[*] Vol. I. p. 342.

According to Blount's Fragmenta Antiquitatis, the itinerant judges used at this period to sit at the Stone Cross, near the Maypole, in the Strand, London, where, says our author, a bargain was settled between the king and one Laurence de Broke, for his hamlet of Renham in Middlesex.

From Madox's History of the Exchequer, we learn, that one of the sheriffs of London was this year fined twenty pounds, for not coming to the Exchequer with his co-sheriff, to render his account.

King Henry, with his Queen Eleanor, after the solemnization of their marriage, at Canterbury, made their solemn entrance into London, in 1236, and were met on their way by the mayor, aldermen, and citizens, to the number of three hundred and sixty, on horseback, robed in silk richly embroidered, each carrying a gold or silver cup in his hand, in token of the office of chief butler. The streets, through which they passed, were adorned in the most elegant manner, with rich silks, pageants, and a variety of pompous shews; and, at night, the city was illuminated in a very grand manner. But neither these rejoicings, nor others at the birth of a prince, in 1239, which were no less extraordinary, for music and dancings filled the streets by day, and their illuminations were very brilliant by night could engage the king's affections.

About this period, a great want of water prevailing in London, occasioned in a great degree by the encroachment of buildings on the fresh water canals about the city, many of the more substantial citizens contributed in a liberal manner to a scheme for bringing water from six fountains in the town of Tyburn; which was accordingly carried into execution, and is the first instance on record of water being conveyed to the city by means of pipes.

Several foreign merchants[*] who were involved in the general prohibition against landing their goods in London, and were consequently obliged to dispose of their merchandize on ship-board, purchased this year, of the mayor and citizens of London, the privilege of landing and housing their wood, at the rent of fifty marks per ann. and a fine of one hundred pounds, which was applied in aid of the above useful project

In several parts of the city, conduits were erected for the reception of this water, the first of which was built in the year 1285, at the west end of Cheapside, then called West Cheap; and these conduits were found so convenient, that they soon increased to nineteen in number, and were supplied by water-pipes from different wells or fountains in the neighbourhood of the city, and from the river Thames.

But these conduits having been long since rendered useless by the present method of conveying water from the Thames and New-river, they have been totally removed for some years past; by which the passage through the principal streets of the city is much less obstructed than it was in former times.

Stow informs us, that when these conduits were in use, it was customary for the lord-mayor, aldermen, and principal citizens, to repair on horseback, annually on the eighteenth of September, to visit the heads from whence the conduits were supplied, and to hunt a hare in the morning, and a fox after dinner, in the fields adjacent to the town of Tyburn.

Maitland says,[†] "Before this time, the city and places adjacent were supplied with water by the river of wells (so called from its having many wells uniting to supply its stream or current), in the west part; whose first decay was owing to certain mills erected thereon by the knights of St. John, which obstructed its navigation, and, by degrees gave it the name of Turnmill-brook, which is still preserved in a street of that name, called Turnmill-street, through part of which this water took its course, towards the bottom of Holborn-hill, and thence into the Thames, between the Fleet and St. Bride's, that now is: it being entirely choaked up above by various encroachments, as low down as Holborn-bridge; in process of time, Turnmill-brook was lost in the name of Fleet-ditch, or Fleet-dyke. The other waters were Olborn, or Holbourn, a rivulet; which, springing up near Middle-row, made its way in a clear current, and fell into the river of Wells at Holborn-bridge. This rivulet underwent the same fate, whose remains are still to be seen in the common-sewer under the street that bears its name. Wallbrook, which entered the city through the wall, between Bishopsgate and Moorgate, near the east end of Bethlehem Hospital, and, after many turnings and windings, emptied itself into the Thames at Dowgate. The loss of this river was owing to the many bridges built over it; which at last increased to such a number, covered with houses, that whole streets rose upon its surface, and the channel of the river was reduced to a common-sewer. Langbourn, which took its rise in or near the east end of Fenchurch-street, and ran with a swift current, due west, to Sherborne-lane, at the west end of St. Mary Woolnoth; then dividing its stream into several rills, ran directly south, and was lost into the Wallbrook, on Dowgate-hill. The stoppage of this bourne was owing to the like circumstances as the former.

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[*] Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XI. p. 29.

[†] Hist. of London, vol. I. p. 83.

" Besides these running waters, we read of several springs, which supplied the city and suburbs with clear, sweet, and wholesome water; as Holywell, which was a fine spring, and even famed for its miraculous virtue in the times of popery, but now choaked up with soil, and a hill of rubbish, commonly called Holywell-mount, near Shoredith, and not behind St. Clement's, as Seymour has erroneously asserted; and, I apprehend, confounded with that well, commonly called Clement's Well, whose remains are still preserved in Clement's Inn. The other wells were Clerks, or Clerkenwell, which sprung not far from the west end of Clerkenwell Church: and near to it was Skinner's Well, famous in history for the plays and interludes acted there at certain seasons of the year: and more eastward, towards the Charter-house, were Fogg's Well, Tod's Well, Loder's Well, and Radwell; which, and another in Smithfield, called the Horsepool, or Horsepond, all united by their streams, and formed the river of Wells, above mentioned. Without Cripplegate there was a large pool, supplied by a neighbouring well, and was sometimes so deep, as to drown those who slipped into it; but that is diverted into the common-sewer; and the well is still preserved, and in great reputation, by the name of Crowder's Well, adjoining to St. Giles's Church-yard, on the north-west side. At the south entrance into the small village of Hoxton was another celebrated spring, called Dame-Annis-the-Clear: This is now inclosed, and made to supply a cold bath for private property. And less than half a mile more to the east, was a very free, sweet, and clear spring (inclosed by a conduit, at the north-east corner of the present improvement, as was discovered on digging it up), which served to supply the neighbourhood of Lothbury, where its pipes terminated close to the south-west corner of the church. This spring overflowed, and formed a piece of water, named Perilous Pool, for the many accidents which happened in it." It is now called Peerless Pool.

In the same year Henry granted a charter to the merchants of Cologne, who at this time appear to have had the principal management of the Anseatic Society of London, by which they were exempted from the payment of two shillings annually out of their Guild-hall, called in Latin Gildhalda Teutonicorum, and from all other customs: as also that they might safely resort to fairs, and buy and sell every where freely.

In the twenty-second year of this reign*, Henry de Cocham and Jordan de Coventria, sheriffs of London, remained indebted to the king, for the balance of the city farms, in the sum of seventy-one pounds two shillings and five-pence; for the payment of which, time was given to them at the intercession of Richard Raynor, the mayor, who became their security.

The king's dislike to the city appeared now more and more: for he granted a mandamus to choose Symond Fitz-Mary a sheriff; and not only degraded William Joyner, the new mayor, for not obeying that mandamus, but commanded the citizens to proceed to a new election of a chief magistrate. They obeyed, and chose Gerard Batt; in whose mayoralty Henry pretended to be reconciled to the city, in order to get them to swear fealty to his new born son, Edward, in the year 1240. And at the same time his majesty expended 12,000 marks in additional fortifications to the Tower of London. This was done to over-awe the citizens, and to make them more readily submit to his exactions; and consisted of a stone gate, bulwark, &c. at the west entrance or side. He also began a ditch round the bulwark, called the Lion's Tower, but it was not finished till the reign of King Edward I.

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* Madox's Firma Burgi, A. D. 1238.

In the year 1241, the Jews of the city of Norwich having presumed to circumcise a Christian child, were punished in an exemplary manner; and though the Jews of London were supposed to have had no concern in, or knowledge of this transaction, yet the king made this circumstance a pretence for extorting twenty thousand marks from that people, which they paid, to avoid perpetual imprisonment, which was threatened in case of their refusal.

In the same year the new buildings in the tower fell suddenly to the ground and were totally destroyed, to the great satisfaction of the citizens, who believed them to be so many prisons erected for such of them as should dare to oppose the king's arbitrary will.

Sir R. Baker, in his Chronicle, says, that aldermen were first chosen within the city of London, in the twenty-fifth year of this reign, to rule the city and its wards, and that they were changed yearly, as the sheriffs are.

He also says, that it was in this reign, but he does not mention the year, that the Friers Minors first arrived in England, four of whom settled in London; who increasing in number had a place assigned them in St. Nicholas Shambles, which John Iwyn, mercer of London, appropriated to their use, and became himself a lay-brother.

The river Thames having overflowed and broken down its banks at Lambeth, in the year 1242, a great inundation followed, which laid the country totally under water for the space of six miles, by which the inhabitants sustained prodigious damage.

The king on paying a visit to his foreign dominions, in the year 1243, demanded a very large loan of the city, which was exacted upon the citizens at the discretion of his officers. Yet, as if they grew more affectionate by oppression, the Londoners at his return received him in a most pompous manner, and presented him with gifts of great value.

Soon after which Beatria, Countess of Provence, mother to the Queen of England, paid a visit to this kingdom, and was received by the Londoners with a splendor and magnificence, which are great testimonies of their loyalty to a prince, who by his frequent exactions and arbitrary sway, does not seem to have merited so great a compliment. She was attended by her daughter Cincia, bride to Richard, the king's brother, whose nuptials were solemnized with the greatest pomp and feasting; for, according to Matthew Paris, there were thirty thousand dishes at the wedding dinner.

In the year 1244, King Henry extorted fifteen hundred marks from the citizens of London, under the pretence of punishing them for permitting one Walter Buckerel (who had been banished twenty years before), to reside in the city; though this very king had himself pardoned Buckerel, by his letters patent, before he presumed to return to his native country.

From Madox's History of the Exchequer, it appears, that the Sheriff of Kent was, in this year, commanded to send the king one hundred ship-loads of grey stone, for the works erecting at Westminster. This was probably the new Abbey Church there, though he did not live to finish the two western towers.

In the year following the king extorted a thousand marks more from the citizens; and not long afterwards he seized upon the liberties of the city, and degraded the magistrates, for a false judgment given against Margaret Veil, a poor widow; on which occasion William Haverel, and Edward of Westminster,

ster, were, by the king, appointed *Custodes* of the city of London.

The houses of the city of London were, at this time, mostly covered or thatched with straw: for it appears, by Stow and other historians, that an ordinance which had been issued some years before, was, in 1246, renewed, viz. that all the houses therein should be covered with tiles or slates, instead of straw; more especially such as stood contiguous in the best streets, which were then but few, compared to our days. For what is now the heart of the city was, it seems, a void place called Crownfields, from the Crown Inn there; the bulk of the city being then more to the eastward.

In the same year, says Madox* "King Henry III. of England grants or dedicates to God and St. Edward, and to the church of Westminster, for the reedifying of that fabric, two thousand five hundred and ninety pounds, which was due to him by Licoricia, the widow of David, a Jew of Oxford.

About the same period, the king commanded the mayor and sheriffs, upon the oaths of twelve worthy citizens, to choose one of the best artists in the city, for the king's custos cunei, or keeper of the mint, in the stead of Walter le Fleming, deceased. Whereupon they chose John Hasdell, who, being presented at the Exchequer by the sheriffs, was sworn and admitted.

This same year, as appears by the following charter, the mayor and commonalty of London purchased of Richard Earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, his fee-farm of Queenhithe, in Thames-street, with all the rights, customs, and appurtenances thereunto belonging. For which they were to pay to the said earl, his heirs and successors for ever, a quit-rent of fifty pounds per annum. The articles of which agreement were confirmed by the king in this form:

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* Hist. of Exch. Chap. xx. p. 549.

"Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, "Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitain, "and Earl of Anjou; To all Archbishops, Bishops, "Priors, Earls, Barons, Justices, Sheriffs, Rulers, "Ministers, and all Bailiffs, and his faithful Subjects, "greeting.

"Know ye, that we have seen a covenant made "between Richard Earl of Cornwall, our brother, on "the one part, and the mayor and commonalty of "the city of London, on the other part, in these "words: In the thirtieth year of the reign of Henry, "the son of King John, on the day of the translation "of Saint Edward, this covenant was made at West-"minster, between the right honourable man, "Richard Earl of Cornwall, on the one part, and "John Gisors, then mayor of the city of London, "and the commonalty of the same city of London, "on the other part, for and concerning certain exac-"tions and demands belonging to Queenhithe, of "the city of London; that is to say, that the said "earl hath granted for him and his heirs, that the "said mayor, and all the mayors after him, and all "the commonalty of the said city, may have and "hold the said Queenhithe, with all their liberties, "customs, and other things to the same belonging, "in fee-farm, paying therefore yearly to the said "earl, his heirs and assigns, fifty pounds, at two "terms in the year, at Clerkenwell; that is to say, "at the close of Easter twenty-five pounds; and in "Octavis of Saint Michael twenty-five pounds; and "for the more surety thereof, to the part of the chi-"rography remaining with the mayor and commonalty "of London, the said earl hath put his seal; and to

" the writing thereof remaining with the said earl, the " foresaid mayor and commonalty have set their common seal. We, therefore, allowing and approving " the said covenant, do, for us and our heirs, grant " and confirm the same: These same being witnesses, " Ralph, son of Nicholas, Richard de Grey, John " William, his brothers, Paul Paiur, Ralph de " Waunty, and John Gubaud.

" Given by our hand, at Windsor, the twenty-" sixth day of February, in the twenty-first year " of our reign."

For this record the citizens were obliged to pay fifteen casks of wine, the value of which may be collected from Rymer*, who has preserved a letter written by King Henry to Joan, Countess of Flanders and Hainault, which relates to the seizure of merchants' effects on both sides. In it he promises " to make good one hundred and four pounds sterling, for fifty-two *dolia* or tons of wine, which had been taken from the Flanders merchants."

The parliament which met in 1247, having taken into consideration the continual and exorbitant demands of the pope, resolved to send letters to him in the name of the nation, requesting him to abstain from such intolerable exactions, on account of the inability of the people to comply with them: and these letters were sealed with the common seal of the city of London.

On the 13th of February, in the same year, London and the parts adjacent were greatly damaged by an earthquake.

Henry's continual extravagancies determined the parliament, which met at Westminster, in 1248, to grant no more aid for such purposes. He therefore dissolved them, and was mean enough to think of selling or pawning the crown jewels, &c. and being told that he might dispose of them in London, his majesty replied, " That the clownish Londoners, who call themselves barons, and abound in all things, are an immense treasure of themselves; and further, that it was his opinion, if the treasure of Augustus Cæsar were to be sold, the city of London could purchase it." However, he took another method with them. He granted an annual fair to be held at Tothill, Westminster, with an injunction to the citizens of London to carry on no commerce, during the time of that fair, either within or without doors. To suppress or recall which grant, he obliged the Londoners to pay him a large sum of money. And his tyranny towards them in particular was carried to such a pitch, that in Christmas, 1249, his majesty came and lived upon them, begged large new-year's gifts of them, and, after his removal from thence, he compelled them to pay 2000l. and encouraged his servants to take goods, particularly provisions for the use of his kitchen, out of the citizens' shops by force.

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* Fœd. Vol. I. p. 363.

When it grew so evident that there was no end of Henry's tyranny: and that neither honour, justice, conscience, religion, nor their dear-bought liberties, confirmed and sworn to, were able to prevent their being treated as the worst of slaves, many of the most eminent citizens withdrew from business into the country. But the city being all his hopes of aid in the time of distress, the king, alarmed at a resolution, which might at length depopulate that resource, had recourse to dissimulation, and in 1250, ordered the city magistrates to attend him at Westminster, and there, in the presence of his nobility, promised never more to oppress the citizens.

This appeased their fears, and kept them in the city. But the king only sought an opportunity to strike a more intolerable blow, and to spoil them more. He began, in 1251, with the Italian usurers, who, under the name of being the pope's merchants, had long carried on a lucrative and illicit trade of usury with impunity. Henry ordered prosecutions against them: some were imprisoned; others took sanctuary. But they were at last permitted to resume their destructive commerce, upon paying a considerable sum to the king.

About the same time Fitz-Mary, who had disgusted the city, by purchasing the office of sheriff from the king, in 1239, and now one of the aldermen, was degraded from his office for being a principal in the unjust verdict against Margaret Veil, mentioned above, and for other mal-practices tending to the dishonour of the city.

In the following year the citizens were summoned to Westminster, where the king proposed to them the undertaking of the holy war, which being declined by all except three, Henry upbraided them in the most opprobrious language, calling them base, ignoble mercenaries, and scoundrels; and shortly after, he not only obliged them to pay him twenty marks in gold, equal to two hundred in silver, but ordered all the shops in the city to be kept shut, Tothill fair to be held in the dead of winter, and fourpence per day to be paid by them for the maintenance of a white bear in the tower of London, and its keeper.

This, with other mal-treatment, at length produced that aversion to the king in the citizens, which he and his friends soon felt the woeful effects of. Still the king was unwearied in seeking new occasions of oppressing them, and, in the next year, ordered some of his domestics to interrupt the young citizens in their diversions at the Quintin, and provoke them, by the most insolent treatment, to blows. This furnished him with another pretence to extort money from the Londoners, who were compelled to pay him one thousand marks as a compensation. Shortly after this, the sheriffs were commanded, by an exchequer writ, to distrain the citizens for the queen's gold.

A quarrel happening between the citizens and Richard, the king's brother, relative to the exchange of some lands, the latter accused the mayor of conniving at the iniquitous practices of bakers who sold bread short of weight; upon which the king deprived the city of its most valuable liberties, giving the command of it to a *custos*, and deposed the mayor. However, Henry granted them the following charter, upon their paying six hundred marks to Richard, and five hundred marks to himself.

" Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, " Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy, and Aquitain, " and Earl of Anjou; To his Archbishops, Bishops, " Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, Justices, Sheriffs, " Rulers, Ministers, and all his Bailiffs and faithful " People, greeting:

" Know ye, that we have granted, for us and our " heirs, and confirmed it by this our present charter, " That our mayor and citizens of London may have " and hold all their liberties and free customs, which " they had in the time of King Henry, our Grand- " father, and which they had by charters of our an- " cestors, kings of England, as they more freely and " better had the same, and they most freely and " fully have and use the same for ever.

" Also we have granted to the said citizens, " That every mayor, whom they shall chuse in our " city of London (we being not at Westminster), they " may yearly present to the barons of our Exchequer, " that he may be admitted by them as mayor, so, " notwithstanding, at the next coming of us or our " heirs to Westminster or London, he be presented " to us or our heirs, and so admitted mayor. And "we will and command, for us and our heirs, that, "out of the farm of our city of London, there be "allowed to our sheriff of the said city, yearly, in "his said account, seven pounds, at our Exchequer, "for the liberty of St. Paul's, London: And that our "citizens throughout all our dominions, as well on "this side the sea as beyond, be quit of all toll and "custom for ever, as in the charters of the aforesaid "kings is granted. And we forbid, upon our "forfeiture, that none presume henceforth to vex or "disquiet the said citizens, contrary to this liberty "and our grant.

"These being witnesses: the Reverend Father "P. Bishop of Hertford; Richard, Earl of "Cornwall, our brother; Peter de Salund; "John Mansal, Provost of Beverley; Mr. William Kelken, Archif. Coventry; Bartino "d'Cryel; John d'Lassington; John d'Grey; "Henry d'Wingham; Robert Walreand, William d'Grey; Nicholas d' St. Mauro; William Gerumne, and others. Given by our "hand, at Windsor, the twelfth day of June, "in the thirty-seventh year of our reign."

By this charter, the ancient rights and immunities of the citizens are not only confirmed, but likewise an additional privilege granted them, whereby they, in absence of the king, may present their new mayor to the barons of the Exchequer, yearly; whereas formerly they were obliged to repair to the king's residence, in any part of England, to present their chief magistrate; and, besides, the king allowed the sheriffs of London seven pounds per annum, to be annually paid at passing their accounts at the Exchequer, for a piece of ground formerly belonging to the city, but then annexed to St. Paul's Church.

CHAP. VIII.

CHAP. VIII.

The City is still oppressed by King Henry.—The Sheriffs and the Mayor imprisoned.—A valuable Present obtained from it by the King's ill-humour.—Escape of John Gate.—The City tallaged.—Its Liberties seized upon, and a Custos appointed.—A roll of Complaints against the Magistrates, found at Windsor.—A Servant of William de Valence stoned to death.—The City Walls and Bulwarks repaired at the expense of the Citizens.—An illegal Court of Itinerancy held.—Dreadful Famine and want of Money.—Coining of Gold in this reign.—Slow progress of Commerce.

The king's enmity to the city, and his insatiable craving for money, were not yet appeased; for we learn from Madox's History of the Exchequer, that, in 1254, he commanded the barons of the Exchequer to execute judgment against the citizens of London, for some arrears of the tax called the Queen's Gold; and soon after the sheriffs were committed to the Marshalsea prison on that account. And, in the same year, the mayor and sheriffs were again committed for arrears of an aid towards the king's voyage to Gascony.

On his return in the next year, the Londoners, as usual, sent a deputation to congratulate him on his safe arrival, and to make him the customary present of one hundred pounds; but Henry, instead of thanking them, told them that was his right, and that, if they wished to obtain his favour, they must give him something of greater value. The citizens, unwilling to disoblige him, presented him with a valuable piece of plate of curious workmanship.

About the same time a prisoner in Newgate, named John Gate, otherwise Offrem, having made his escape, the king ordered the mayor and sheriffs to attend him at the Tower of London, where, being satisfied of the innocence of the mayor, he suffered him to depart, but, notwithstanding the charge against the sheriffs was unsupported by the least shadow of truth or argument, he confined them in the Tower for a month.

The state of the case was this: as soon as the above criminal was apprehended, the bishop of London desired leave of the sheriffs to commit him t Newgate, which the sheriffs agreed to, on condition that the bishop should appoint proper persons to prevent his escaping; the bishop accordingly set a guard over him, which assisted him in his elopement.

Notwithstanding the truth of this appeared on the examination of the sheriffs at the Tower, the king compelled the citizens to pay a fine of three thousand marks, and degraded both the sheriffs.

Shortly after this the citizens were summoned to attend the king, to have their city tallaged, when Henry demanded the sum of three thousand marks; but after some deliberation with the principal citizens, Ralph Hardel, the mayor, told the king that two thousand marks should, if he pleased, be immediately paid into the hands of his treasurer, but that they neither could nor would give any more.

Upon this, the king ordered his lawyers to seek for a precedent for tallaging the city, and several being found, the citizens paid the sum demanded without farther hesitation.

The sheriffs being ordered to distrain the citizens for the queen's gold, they, at the return of the writ, told the barons that they had not brought the money, not being able to find purchasers for certain vadia, or goods, which they had seized; upon which, they were ordered to attend the barons, and bring the said vadia, on a day appointed.

The sheriffs attended agreeable to their instructions, when they informed the barons, that above a thousand citizens, consisting of drapers, spicers, and other tradesmen, had made a stout resistance, and would not suffer their property to be carried off.

Upon this declaration the sheriffs were immediately committed to the Marshalsea, but were speedily bailed by the whole community of London, represented in the persons of Michael Toney, Robert Hardel, Thomas Adrian, and Simon de Cobham.

This incensing Henry, he degraded the mayor, appointed his under treasurer custos of the city, and seized upon the liberties of the citizens, for the restoration of which they were obliged to pay the enormous sum of four thousand marks. Besides which, the king commanded the barons of the Exchequer not to admit either the new sheriffs or the mayor to their offices; until the city had discharged a debt of five hundred pounds, due to Luke de Luca, and company: and, accordingly, before they were admitted, they were obliged to bind themselves in the sum of twenty marks of gold, equal to ten pounds in weight, to satisfy this demand before the feast of All Saints.

In the year following, we meet with an extraordinary narrative of a fact, that gave the court a great handle to exercise their power upon the city; but it is related very differently by divers authors. It was occasioned by a roll of accusations, against certain city magistrates, found at Windsor, during the king's residence in that castle. Fabian relates this to be a roll of fictitious crimes, and an unjustifiable artifice to oppress the Londoners; and that by means hereof the king squeezed large sums from the parties accused. But Manwood, and others, represent that roll, which they say was found in the kings wardrobe, at Windsor, sealed with green wax, to have been secretly dropt there by some discontented citizens: in which were contained many articles against the mayor and his counsellors, for having oppressed their fellow-citizens with tallages and in other ways. Whereupon the king, to come at the truth, commanded John Mansel, one of his chief justices, to summon a folkmote at St. Paul's Cross. Before whom, Mansel read the said roll; adding, that his majesty would not suffer his city to be aggrieved, and that he desired to know who those rich men were that had been favoured in collecting the tallage; and who, among the poor, that had been oppressed; and whether the mayor and his counsellors had applied any part of the tallages to their own use. He then ordered the aldermen to call their wardmotes, and that there the men of every ward should, in the absence of the aldermen, elect thirty-six men before that time talliated; and that all these should on such a day appear, about one of the clock, at St. Paul's, before him and others of the king's council. They were chosen and appeared accordingly. But when Mansel commanded them to make inquiry, and certify upon oath, concerning the said articles of complaint, they refused; alleging that, according to the laws of the city, they ought not to be compelled to inquire any thing upon oath, except in cases where life and member and title of land, were concerned. Neither could the king's council by any argument prevail with them to make the inquisition.

However, the court determined to try an expedient to prevail with the citizens to assent to the oath proposed against their liberties. The king sent Michael Tony and Adam de Pasinger to summon the citizens at Guildhall, and, in his name, to assure the mayor and the people there assembled, that he did promise to preserve all their liberties entire: but that, for the amendment of the city, it was his royal will that an inquiry should be made upon oath concerning the complaints aforesaid, so that none might fall under his royal displeasure, and the punishment of the laws, but the guilty only; and that they might suffer without any damage to the public or commonalty. And these orators were seconded so effectually by Mansel and others, that the people, not considering the consequences of such a consent, cried out yea, yea. Upon which, Mansel immediately seized the city into the king's hands; removed the mayor and chamberlain from their offices, before conviction; delivered the custody of the city to the constable of the tower; appointed new sheriffs; and, having sealed up the tallage rolls, left them in the hands of the chamberlain, to be forthcoming upon his majesty's command.

Now the inquisition began by the thirty-six jurats of each ward; who, having finished their interrogatories and answers, together with the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, attended his majesty at Westminster; where all the aldermen were called by name, and four men of every ward appeared before the barons of the Exchequer and other commissioners; and Mansel informed Nicholas Batt, then mayor, and several others, that the king had resolved to prosecute them for the oppressions and injuries done by them to the men of his city. And, having caused a part of the said inquisition to be read, Mansel concluded, "that the city was oppressed and destroyed, by them and their councils," especially in changing the manner of making the tallage; because the last roll thereof had not been read, as usual, before all the people, properly summoned; and that the mayor and his council had altered the roll at their pleasure, to skreen some people and to burthen others.

The accused pleaded a discontinuance of the custom of reading the tallage-roll in Guildhall for ten years;

years: and flatly denied the possibility of their corrupting or falsifying the said roll; because it was made out by men chosen by the whole community, and sworn to do justice, and then sealed with the common seal of the city. Therefore they offered to put themselves upon trial by the laws and customs of the city.

This offer was not satisfactory. Mansel did not like a city jury in such a cause. Therefore the affair was next morning laid before the king in council; where Ralph Hardel and Nicholas Batt threw themselves upon the king's mercy, with a salvo to the liberties of themselves and their fellow-citizens. Then the king commanded the other six, accused of mal-practices, to be prosecuted for giving bad counsel to the mayor Batt; by which there had been unjust tallages made, and weights and measures had been altered, without the consent of the king. However these six persisted in their innocency, alleging that the weights and measures had been managed for the public good, and desired to be tried by twelve men of their city before the king, according to their laws and customs.

This embarrassed the court more: and the king had recourse to another expedient; so to manage the people at a folkmote, as to gain their denial of any such custom. The folkmote met next day, with such a mixed appearance of strangers, non-freemen, and servants, without any aldermen; that the accused aldermen, giving all up for lost in such a mob, departed from their resolution of abiding by the rights of the city, and desired they might be tried by whom the king pleased. But Mansel, obtaining the folkmote's approbation of the king's proceedings, commanded the accused to appear before the king in person, on the next day, in Westminster-hall, where the king did sit in person as judge in this cause, and commanded Henry de Batton, chief justice, to pass sentence of degradation on the accused aldermen, and to declare that they were dismissed from their bailiwicks, and lay at the king's mercy, so as never to be restored to their offices, without the royal permission: but that his majesty gave them leave to return home. Yet after a long scrutiny into the chamberlain's accounts, &c. made daily before Mansel and others, nothing was found of complaint, that might justly be laid to the charge of the parties accused. Wherefore the king, to put an end to all these troubles, commanded a folkmote to attend him at St. Paul's Cross, on the day before St. Leonard, in the forty-third year of his reign; before whom, in the presence of his council, and of John Mansel, he restored Arnold Thedman to his royal favour, and to his bailiwick of an alderman; being certified of his innocence in regard to the accusation laid against him.

At the same time he acquainted the citizens with his intention to cross the seas to his foreign dominions; promised to preserve their rights and liberties entire, and further he granted them certain privileges, viz. "That, for the future, every citizen should have liberty to plead his own cause, without being obliged to employ a lawyer, except in pleas that might concern the crown; that the wisdom of the court being certified of the truth of the affair without any colouring, they might decree equal and just judgment to the parties concerned."

Thus it appears, that this prosecution is not to be ascribed to an artifice of the court; but to the discontented part of the commonalty, who thought themselves aggrieved in the tallage, &c. The court, which on other occasions showed such dislike to the city, perhaps did prosecute this dark complaint with more acrimony than becomes the father of a people, when justice calls him to protect the innocent and punish the guilty. But it does not appear that the king, after a strict inquiry, perverted justice, to satiate a desire of revenge upon those he found innocent of the charge laid against them. And it ought to be a memorial and caution to the citizens, at all times, not to oppress one another, nor, by civil dissensions and intestine broils, to expose their liberties and privileges to the mercy of even the best of kings.

To render this narrative more intelligible, at the present time, it may be necessary to say that a folkmote was an assemblage of the whole of the commonalty, in St. Paul's church-yard, to which they were summoned by a great bell, in a tower at the east end of the church. This meeting was deemed the supreme assembly of the city. When a tallage was to be levied on the city, certain persons were chosen by the commonalty, at Guildhall, and sworn to make a just roll, which, when made, was to be read to the people to prevent partiality, after which, the common seal was affixed to it, and it then became an instrument to oblige and bind the citizens according to its tenor. The discontinuance of this custom seems to have given rise to the complaints.

In the same year, a person in the service of William de Valence, half brother to the king, having, without the least provocation, dangerously wounded several of the citizens, was stoned to death by the populace; at which Henry was so highly offended, that he commanded the immediate attendance of the mayor, who obeyed the summons, and in his defence, pleaded that it was not in his power to controul the resentment of the affronted populace; with which excuse the king appeared, at the time, to be satisfied.

The city walls and bulwarks having fallen into decay, Henry obliged the citizens to repair them at a very great expense. He also commanded Sir Hugh Bigot, an itinerant judge, to hold a court of itinerancy in London, contrary to its ancient rights and liberties. Many things done by this court were incompatible with the franchises and immunities of the city, among others, some bakers, charged with mal-practices, were set upon tumbrels, or dung-carts, and exposed through the streets.

Towards the end of the year, the nation was visited by a dreadful famine, occasioned by too much rain. Wheat, according to the Chronicon Preciosum, was so excessive dear as one pound four shillings per quarter, which, allowing for the difference in the value of money, is equal to nine shillings of our coin, per bushel. To heighten the distress, the whole nation, and particularly the city of London, was so drained of money by the king's continual extortions, together with those of the pope, and by a sum of seven hundred thousand pound having been carried into Germany, by Richard, King of the Romans, that the most eminent citizens found great difficulty in procuring provisions for their families, and the poor were reduced to the necessity of eating dead dogs, and other carrion, and even the wash given to swine.

All the historiographers of London, copy an assertion in Echard's History of England, which seems utterly without probability, viz. "That in this forty-first year of King Henry III. he caused a penny of fine gold to be coined, of the weight of two sterlings," *i.e.* two silver pence, "and commanded that it should pass for twenty shillings, which was the first gold we find to have been coined in England." Mr. Echard says, this account is taken from an old manuscript chronicle of London. But as other very authentic authors are silent with respect to this early coinage of gold in England, and as our curious antiquarian Camden, with many others, conjecture that gold was not coined in any part of Europe, west of the Greek empire, before 1320, and not in England until twenty-four years later, Mr. Echard is surely mistaken.

Notwithstanding the turbulence of these, as well as of former times, was a great discouragement to commercial enterprizes, we are still enabled to trace its slow rise through every obstacle. Thus we find that an intercourse had been opened with Lubeck about this period, since the king, at the request of his brother Richard, lately elected emperor by part of the electors, granted their "burghers and merchants permission to resort to England with their merchandize to traffic therewith." And, again, in 1260, by the same intercession, the King granted, "to the merchants of Almain or Germany, having a house at their guildhall in London, the full confirmation of all the privileges granted to them in former reigns."

CHAP. IX.

The City agrees to the Oxford Constitutions.—The King's Purveyors obliged to pay ready Money.—Nefarious Collectors pardoned.—Public entry of the King and Queen.—Difference between Prince Edward and the Earl of Gloucester.—The Citizens sworn to be true to the King.—Seizure of Corn by the Constable of the Tower.—Massacre of the Jews.—The City's Right to Distrain in Westminster tried.—Robbery of the Treasury of the Knights Templars.—Hostilities between the King and the Barons.—Institution of the City Watch.—Citizens march to Lambeth to give Battle to the King.—Another Massacre of the Jews.—Further hostilities between the King and the Barons.—The Londoners destroy Richard's Palace at Isleworth.—The City Posts and Chains taken away.—The Mayor and some of the Citizens sent to Prison, and the City Magistrates dismissed.—The King's Pardon obtained, on Payment of 20,000 Marks.—Immunities granted to the Hanseatic Merchants.—Two Bailiffs chosen.—Contest respecting the Election of Mayor.—The Rebels get Possession of the City.—Citizens obliged to pay 1000 Marks for having destroyed the Palace at Isleworth.—Royal Charter.—Bailiffs appointed by the King, and a Custos appointed.—The King's revenue in the City.—Great Riot.—The Government of the City given to Prince Edward.—The Citizens again allowed the Privilege of choosing their Magistrates.—Dreadful Inundations and Famine.—Death of Henry III.—Wine Gaugers appointed in London.—New Grant of Privileges to the Lubeckers.—Merchants of the Staple.

THE oppressive measures of this avaricious and tyrannical monarch, being felt by the whole nation, became, at length, the subject of inquiry in the parliament, which met at Oxford in the year 1258, and came to such strong resolutions as obliged the king and his son to agree to, and confirm the constitutions framed by them for ascertaining and preserving the legitimate rights of the people from being violated in future. When this end was obtained, they sent commissioners to London, to acquaint the citizens with what had been done, and to inquire whether they would adhere to, and observe the said statutes, and act vigorously in their defence against all attempts to counteract them, should any such be made, by giving their utmost assistance to the barons. After some deliberation, the citizens unanimously assented, and not only bound themselves by a written covenant under their common seal, but likewise swore to maintain and defend them against all infringers whomsoever; perceiving that these provisions were well calculated for the benefit of the whole kingdom, by restraining the illegal impositions of the king and his nefarious advisers.

These constitutions being settled, the king's purveyors were obliged to pay ready money for every thing they had in London, except for two tons of wine, at two pounds per ton, which the king was entitled to out of every ship.

At the close of this year, the persons appointed to collect money for repairing the city walls were convicted of embezzling considerable sums, but, contrary to expectation, through the intercession of Mansell, the Chief Justice, they were pardoned, on paying a considerable sum of money to the king's treasurer.

On Candlemas-day, in the year 1259, King Henry and his brother Richard, with their consorts, made a public entry into the city of London, and were received with every mark of respect, and the most magnificent rejoicings.

At this time harmony seemed to be restored between the king and the citizens, for, previous to his departure for France, in November of this year, he ordered a folkmote to be assembled, which he attended, and took his leave of the citizens, promising that he would maintain all their rights and privileges from encroachment, and strictly enjoining the mayor to be vigilant in preserving the peace and good order of the city, during his absence.

This precaution appears to have been very necessary, for, before the king's return, such a serious difference broke out between Prince Edward and the Earl of Gloucester, that it was found necessary to summon a parliament to settle it, to which both the disputants came, attended by numerous armed followers; and, as each of them designed to lodge in the city, the mayor thought it prudent to consult the regency on this emergency, who, having taken the advice of the king's brother Richard, directed him not to admit either party, and ordered him to arm all the citizens above the age of fifteen; and, at the same time, a large force under the king's brother and two of the regency, were sent into the city, by which prudent measures the peace was preserved until the king's arrival, who ordered the prince to reside at Westminster, and the earl in London; and soon afterwards the affair was compromised to the satisfaction of all parties.

Uneasy under the restrictions of the Oxford constitutions, his majesty was resolved to break with the barons, provided he could secure the Londoners to his interest. Therefore, in the year 1260, commanding a folkmote to meet him in St. Paul's churchyard, on the Sunday before Valentine's-day, he ordered, that all males of twelve years old, and upwards, should next day be sworn to be faithful to the king and his heir; and that the mayor should provide a sufficient number of armed men for the defence of the city. His majesty renewed these precautions next year; and commanded the city wall to be finished with expedition: he repaired the decayed fortifications of the Tower of London; and having sworn the citizens a third time to be true and faithful, he commanded the city to be strongly guarded, and caused proclamation, that whoever would enter into his service, should be maintained at his expense.

But this artifice had nearly miscarried when the king thought himself secure of the Londoners, should he be obliged to have recourse to arms against the barons: for the constable of the Tower, by a premature seizure of some vessels loaded with corn, upon which he fixed his own price, contrary to the express rights and privileges of the city, irritated the citizens almost beyond remedy. However, by the judicious conduct of Basset, the Chief Justice, the affair was settled without further ill consequences. His decision purported that, in future, the constable of the Tower, and his officers, should come to the market in the city to purchase corn for the king and the inhabitants of the Tower, and that it should be sold to him for two-pence in the quarter less than the assize fixed by the mayor. In our times this difference in favour of the king's officers may appear so small, as to be almost ridiculous, yet if we consider that the price of wheat, as stated in the Chronicon Preciosum, under the years 1243 and 1244, a very short time before this decree, was only two shillings per quarter, it will be allowed that the advantage over the labouring consumer was, comparatively, very considerable: and it may also contribute to show the miserable state of the royal revenues in those days, which made it necessary to have recourse to such methods.

On the ninth of November following, a Jew, who had wounded a Christian, in the church of St. Mary Cole, at the corner of the Old Jewry, was pursued by the populace, and killed in his own house: and the mob, hurried on by their revengeful fury, plundered and destroyed the habitations of many others of that persuasion, and massacred all who fell in their way.

In the following year a cause was tried between the corporation of London and the abbot of Westminster, concerning the city's right to distrain in Westminster; when it was determined by a Jury, consisting of twelve knights of the county of Middlesex, that the sheriffs of London had a right to enter the town of Westminster, even to the gates of the abbey, and also into all houses belonging to the abbot, and to summon and distrain all and every his tenants for default of appearing.

On his return from Wales, in 1263, Prince Edward broke open the treasury of the monastery of the knights templars, and took from thence 1000l. deposited there by the citizens. The robbing of this sacred depository so enraged the Londoners, that they instantly ran to arms, and assaulted and plundered the houses of Lord Gray, and of other courtiers; and it immediately disposed them to take part with the barons, assembled in their neighbourhood, who had publicly declared both against the king and the prince, for violating the constitutions of Oxford.

The barons, supported by a great army, having commenced hostilities by destroying the estates, and plundering the dwellings of those who were in the interest of the king and the prince, called upon the citizens for the performance of their engagement, in support of their common rights and the provisions entered into at Oxford.

Their letter was sent to the mayor and citizens of London, under the seal of Simon de Mountfort, earl of Leicester, their general; which Thomas Fitz-Thomas, the mayor, carried to his majesty, then retired for safety to the Tower of London. The king urged the mayor to give him his opinion in regard to the sentiments of the city on this emergent occasion; who, not being permitted to consult his brethren, boldly answered, "That he, with his brethren, the aldermen, and commonalty of the city of London, had frequently, by his command, been sworn to obey all such acts and ordinances, as had been made to the honour of God, the interest of the king, and good of the kingdom: which oaths they thought themselves obliged in conscience to keep; and that, to prevent any further misunderstanding between him and his nobility, on account of foreigners residing in London, they had taken a resolution to expel all aliens out of the city." The king, not daring to show his resentment, made no reply; but seemed indifferent. The mayor returned, and reported the whole transaction to the barons.

It now became necessary to attend to the security of the city, for which purpose, a strong guard was kept by day, and patroles of horse and foot by night. But a body of thieves taking advantage of this circumstance, and pretending to be a part of the foot guard, entered the houses of many of the citizens, upon the plea of searching for strangers, and committed great depredations. This evil gave rise to the institution of the city watch, which was appointed in every ward, to prevent night robberies and house-breaking: soon after which, the barons were admitted into the city.

Hereupon, the king, finding himself disappointed of the assistance which he had expected from his son, proposed an accommodation, and, once more, offered to abide by the Oxford statutes. This being acceded to by the barons and citizens, Henry removed from the Tower to Westminster, and sent a message to the mayor and citizens, strictly enjoining them to preserve the peace of the metropolis, under pain of his displeasure. But, as this accommodation had been hastily agreed to, the barons undertook to procure the king's charter to confirm all the ancient liberties of the city, and to grant them such further privileges as they thought might contribute to its prosperity.

But Henry never intended to maintain the peace longer than served his turn; as soon, therefore, as he found himself at liberty, his foreign garrison made an excursion from Windsor castle, and plundered the neighbourhood of their provisions, and he set about strengthening his party, which he effected by prevailing with some of the barons to espouse his cause.

Finding that no dependence could be placed on him, the citizens resolved to submit no longer to the arbitrary will of so faithless a monarch, and marched into Lambeth Fields, to give him battle; where it was agreed to submit their grievances to the arbitration of Louis, King of France.

During the interval in which they waited for the determination of the French monarch, it happened, in the week preceding Easter, in the year 1264, that a dreadful disaster befel the Jews, occasioned by one of them having endeavoured to extort more than two pence per week for the use of twenty shillings, at that time the legal interest, from a Londoner; whereupon, the populace having assembled from all parts of the city, attacked the Jews with so diabolical a rage, that above five hundred of them were most inhumanly murdered, their synagogue and their houses destroyed, and those who escaped through the humanity of particular persons, were secured in the Tower of London from farther insult.

The award of the French king released Henry from the constitutions of Oxford, and restored him to his former power. The barons accused the French king of partiality, and had recourse to arms; in which resolution they again involved the Londoners; who, possessed with a jealousy that divers of the aldermen and chief citizens favoured the king's interest, the populace usurped the government of the city, re-chose Fitz-Thomas for the mayor, and engaged to fly to arms at the tolling of St. Paul's great bell, and to march wherever their officers should lead them.

The constable of the Tower, with a body of men under his command, having joined the citizens, they marched to Isleworth, where they destroyed the palace of the king of the Romans; and on their return pulled down the king's summer-house in the neighbourhood of Westminster.

After this they returned in triumph; and, having joined the Earl of Leicester, marched under his command to give battle to the king; but his majesty retreated into Kent, where he prevailed upon the Cinque Ports to send a number of ships to block up the river Thames, so as to prevent the port of London from receiving a supply of provisions or merchandize.

During these distractions, the city was plundered by a party which appeared for the king; by whom, the houses of many of the principal citizens were robbed; but their greatest fury was directed against the *Caursini*, or Italian money-lenders, and the Jews.

The forces under the command of the earl of Leicester, together with a great body of Londoners, marched in pursuit of the king; and encamped at a place called Flexenwith, in Sussex, within five miles of the royal army, and dispatched the bishops of London and Worcester, to propose terms of accommodation.

Henry rejecting their proposals with disdain, a battle ensued, in which Prince Edward, with the troops under his command, attacked that wing of the army which consisted of the Londoners, who, being altogether undisciplined, were soon put to flight.

Prince Edward pursued them four miles, making a terrible slaughter; but this injudicious conduct occasioned the royal army to be totally routed; and the Earl of Leicester took the King of England, the King of the Romans, and Prince Edward, prisoners.

Leicester now presuming to usurp the government into his own hands, his party were so greatly disgusted that many of them joined that of the king; and Prince Edward, making his escape from imprisonment, marched against Leicester, and gave him battle, in which the earl and one of his sons were killed.

The king, having routed the barons, summoned a parliament at Westminster, about Christmas, so much in his interest, that they enacted, "That the city of London, for its late rebellion, should be divested of its liberties, its posts and chains taken away, and its principal citizens imprisoned, and left to the mercy of the king." And it was given out, that Henry, then at Windsor, at the head of a potent army, was determined to fall upon, and destroy London. Therefore, notwithstanding some of the citizens were for defending themselves at all events, it was resolved to submit to his majesty's mercy. An instrument in writing, under the city seal, was made out accordingly: which, after strong application, was accepted. But their posts and chains, the tokens of freedom, were removed and carried to the Tower; and the mayor and forty of the principal inhabitants, were ordered, under the king's safe conduct, to confirm before the king the said instrument of submission.

The citizens, considering this safe conduct as a full security to their persons, repaired to Windsor, where they were treated with great indignity, and

committed

committed to the care of the constable of the castle, who confined them in a large tower, where they were very meanly accommodated.

On the evening of the following day they were all removed to lodgings prepared for them, except Fitz-Thomas, the mayor, Michael Tony, Stephen Buckerell, Thomas Pywelldon, and John Fleet, who, being considered as ringleaders in the late rebellion, were, notwithstanding their safe conduct, delivered to Prince Edward, to be dealt with as he should think proper; and by his orders they were closely confined in prison, till they paid what was demanded for their ransom.

His majesty having dismissed the city magistrates from their offices, appointed Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hertford, John de Baliol, Roger de Leyburn, and Roger de Walerand, guardians of the city; and issued a writ to them, in which he recited, that "Whereas the mayor, citizens, and whole community of London, had submitted themselves, both as to their lives and limbs, together with their lands, tenements, and estates, to the king's mercy, they were to cause proclamation to be made, that his peace should be kept in the city and parts adjacent. Given at Windsor the sixth of October."

Not content with this, his majesty seized on the estates of many of the chief citizens, and gave to his domestics, their houses, moveable effects, lands, and chattels. He likewise caused the sons of other citizens to be imprisoned in the Tower, as a security for the good behaviour of their parents; and he detained four of the richest citizens, among whom was Thomas Fitz-Thomas, prisoners at Windsor, till they purchased their liberty at a most exorbitant price.

It being impossible to judge what would be the event of these measures; the citizens, in their corporate capacity, willing to save themselves from entire ruin, applied to the king in the most moving and humble manner, to know what he insisted on as an atonement for their past offences. His majesty at first demanded sixty thousand marks; but, mollified by proper representations of the distressed condition, to which they, especially his party, had been reduced by the late troubles, he mitigated his demands to the sum of twenty thousand marks, in full satisfaction; committed the government of the city and Tower of London to Sir John de Linde, and John de Waldren, clerk, by the name of seneschals, with twenty-four principal citizens under them; and granted them the following pardon, under the broad seal:

" Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, " Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Guyan, To all Men, " greeting:

" Know ye, that in consideration of twenty " thousand marks, paid to us by our citizens of " London, as an atonement for their great crimes " and misdemeanours committed against us, our " royal consort, our royal brother Richard, king of " the Romans, and our dear son Edward: That we " have and do by these presents remit, forgive, and " acquit, for us and our heirs, the citizens of London " and their heirs, of all crimes and trespasses whatsoever: And that the said citizens, as formerly, " shall enjoy all their rights and liberties; and that, " from Christmas last, they shall and may receive the " rents and profits of all their lands and tenements " whatsoever; And also, that the said citizens shall have " all the goods and chattels of such criminals as have " or shall be indicted on account of the late rebellion; except the goods and chattels of the persons " already mentioned, which we have given to our " son Edward; and also, all the lands and tenements " that shall escheat to us, by reason of the aforesaid rebellion. And we likewise grant, that all

" the citizens confined in our several prisons shall " be discharged; except those given as pledges to " our son Edward for his prisoners, and those for " citizens that are fled. In witness whereof we " have made these letters patent.

" Witness ourself at Northampton, the tenth day " of January, in the fiftieth year of our reign."

In consequence of this pardon, the king sent an order to John de Waldren and Sir John de Linde, his guardians of the city, reciting, " That, whereas he had received into his favour the citizens of London, according to a certain form, specified in his letters patent; that they should release the pledges or security of the citizens they had in their custody, except those above excepted; and to suffer them to go wheresoever they pleased. Witness the king, at Northampton, the eleventh of January."

On the same day, the king granted the city a charter, whereby the citizens were empowered " To " traffick with their commodities and merchandizes, " wheresoever they please, throughout his kingdom " and dominions, as well by sea as by land, without " interruption of him or his, as they see expedient, " quit from all custom, toll, and paying; and may " abide for their trading wheresoever they please, in the " same his kingdom, as in times past they were accus" tomed, till such time as it should be more fully order" ed by his council, touching the state of the said city; " as by the said letters patent, amongst other things, " more fully appeareth."

Notwithstanding the king's order to the abovementioned guardians for detaining certain of the city pledges in prison, yet it seems, that four thereof were not only soon after discharged (though, it is to be presumed, not without paying the utmost farthing, for the satisfaction of Prince Edward), but likewise the seneschals or guardians aforesaid were dismissed;

in whose stead the citizens chose William Fitz-Richard for their mayor, and Thomas le Ford, and Gregory de Rockesly, for sheriffs.

The magistracy and government of the city being thus settled, they set about raising the 20,000 marks payable to the king for their pardon; and for which they had given security. In which assessment upon lodgers and servants, as well as house-holders, they met with so much difficulty, that many chose to be disfranchised, rather than pay it.

About this time, the king ordered that the keepers of the seven gates of the city, should be paid threepence a day each.

It was about this period that Henry granted those extraordinary immunities to the Hanseatic college, or merchants of the Steel-yard, in London, which they enjoyed for three hundred years, to their great emolument. Thuanus, Lib. 51, thinks it was in the year 1250; but as Werdenhagen, the historian of the Hans Towns, contends for the year 1266, and is supported by the much abler proof of the learned and judicious Lambecius, in his Origines Hamburgenses, we may take it for granted that this was the precise time. The account given by Werdenhagen is, that the Hanseatic ships, on their return from assisting Henry in a successful enterprize against France, were almost all lost in a tempest, whereupon the Hanseatics demanded their value; but this amounting to a much larger sum than the king was then able to pay, and they, seeing but little hopes of a speedy reimbursement, the following agreement was entered into, viz. "That they would entirely remit all this debt to the king, on condition that he and his successors would grant free liberty to the Easterlings to import and export all merchandize whatever, at no higher duty or custom than one per cent, which was the rate then paid."

By the Hanseatics here spoken of, the oriental Hans Towns are not to be understood, but a confederacy of towns, of which Cologne was the head, lying principally upon the Rhine and Weser, but they were afterwards united, and formed that eminent mercantile confederacy, which has no parallel either in ancient or modern history.

From Madox's History of the Exchequer we learn, that, in the year 1267, the king, upon the humble supplication of the citizens, granted them a liberty to choose two bailiffs from among themselves, who were to have the custody of the city and the county of Middlesex, till he should give further order in that respect; and, at the same time, he enjoined the barons of the Exchequer to admit the said bailiffs, when duly presented: whereupon they chose John Adrian and Luke de Batencourt; who, upon their being presented and admitted, took an oath, to be faithful both to king and citizens.

In the year above mentioned there happened a violent dispute between the magistrates and the commonalty respecting the election of mayor. A folkmote being held for this purpose, the aldermen and principal citizens supported Allen Souche; but the commons would have Thomas Fitz-Thomas, who still remained in confinement at Windsor. At length Souche's party, being supported by the court, carried the election by force, seizing and committing many of their opponents to prison; whereupon Souche was declared duly elected.

But this was only the commencement of their troubles in this year, for Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, having raised an army, under pretence of serving the king against France, but privately favouring the rebels in the Isle of Ely, got leave of the regent to quarter a part of his forces in the city of London, where he soon discovered his designs: but more openly on the arrival of a strong party of the rebels in Southwark, from Ely. Wherefore, the magistrates drew up their draw-bridge, and shut their gates against them. The earl took the keys from the mayor and gave them to such as he could trust. So that the rebels had free access into the city: and, when some of the chief citizens withdrew, he seized upon their effects; not failing to fortify the city with additional works. Of all which the mayor gave the king an exact account, and did all in his power to preserve the peace. But such is the rage of a dissolute populace, encouraged by rebellion, that they were not to be curbed. They imprisoned the loyal aldermen, and divided their effects among them; they degraded the mayor and sheriffs, and chose others: released all persons imprisoned on account of the late rebellion, and gave a full loose to every act of violence and oppression. As for Gloucester, he invested the Tower of London; but he met with such a stout resistance from the Pope's legate and the Jews, who had retired thither for security, that it gave the king time to march from Cambridge to its relief, with a reinforcement of 30,000 Scots, raised by his son Edward.

The king halted at Windsor with his army, and struck such a terror into the Earl of Gloucester, that he sued for peace. But the king rejected his proposals with indignation, and accepted a challenge to give him battle on a certain day, upon Hounslow-heath. However, the rebels did not appear at the time and place agreed on; therefore the king marched towards London, and wheeling about to the east, encamped with his whole army on the plains about Stratford; from whence he in vain made several attempts to surprize the city by assault. As for the earl, he sent out parties to ravage the counties of Kent and Surry; and other banditti to deface Westminster

minster Abbey, and to pillage it of its rich ornaments: four of whom being taken, and known to have left the Earl of Derby's service, were, by his order, tied up in sacks, and thrown into the Thames.

The Earl of Gloucester, reduced to the utmost extremity, did at last make such offers of submission, that, with the interest of the king of the Romans, they found acceptance with the king. And the Londoners were particularly included in this accommodation. But, though the king granted them a general pardon, he took this opportunity to make good an omission in his last bargain with the citizens of London, which was to pay his brother Richard 1000 marks for destroying his palace at Isleworth, in Middlesex, in Leicester's rebellion. Besides, his majesty obliged the earl to raze all the additional fortifications he had made, and to level their ditches.

The behaviour of the Londoners, upon the whole, under their late circumstances, was looked upon in a very favourable light at court. And, therefore, the king granted them the following charter; that remitted all past offences, confirmed their ancient privileges, except the choice of their magistrates, and prohibited all forestalling of markets, under severe penalties:

“ Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitain: To his Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, Sheriffs, Justices, Rulers, Ministers, and all Bailiffs, and his faithful Subjects, greeting.

“ Know ye, that we have granted to our citizens of London, for us and our heirs, whom of late we have received again into our grace and favour, after divers trespasses and forfeitures of them and their commonalty to us made, for the which, both for life and member, and all other things belonging to

" the said city, they have submitted themselves to " our will; that none of them be compelled to plead " out of the walls of the said city, for any thing except foreign tenures, and except our monyers and " officers, and except those things which shall happen to be done against our peace, which, according " to the common law of our realm, are wont to be " determined in the parts where those trespasses were " done; and except pleas concerning merchandizes, " which are wont to be determined according to the " law-merchant in boroughs and fairs, so yet notwithstanding that those plaints be determined in " the boroughs and fairs, by four or five of the said " citizens of London, who shall be there present; " saving to us the amerciaments in any wise coming, " which they shall faithfully answer us and our " heirs, upon pain of grievous forfeitures.

" We have also granted to our same citizens acquittal of murder in the said city and in Portsoken; " and that none of the said citizens may wage battle; " and that for the pleas belonging to the crown, chiefly " those which may chance within the said city and " suburbs thereof, they may discharge themselves " according to the ancient custom of the said city; " this notwithstanding except, that upon the graves " of the dead, for that which they should have said, " if they had lived, it shall not be lawful precisely " to swear; but instead and place of those deceased, " which before their deaths, to discharge those which, " for concerning the things belonging to the crown, " were called and received, there may other free " and lawful men be chosen, which may do and accomplish that without delay, which by the deceased " should have been done, if they had lived; and " that within the walls of the city and in Portsoken, " none may take lodgings by force, or delivery of the " marshal.

"We have also granted to our said citizens throughout all our dominions, wheresoever they come to "dwell with their merchandizes and things, and also "throughout all the sea-ports, as well on this side as "beyond the seas, they shall be free of all toll and "lastage, and of all customs, except, every where, "our due and ancient custom and prices of wines; "that is to say, one tun before the mast, and of one "other behind the mast, at twenty shillings the tun, "to be paid in such form as we and our ancestors have "been accustomed to have the said prices; and if "any in any of our lands, on this side or beyond the "seas, or in the ports of the said sea, on this side or "beyond the seas, shall take of the men of London, "toll, or any custom, contrary to this our grant, (ex"cept the aforesaid prices) after he shall fail of right, "the sheriff may take goods therefore at London.

"We have also granted to them, that the hustings "might be kept in every week once the week, and "that only by one day; or as notwithstanding that "those things within the same day cannot be deter"mined, may continue till next morning, and no "longer; and that right be holden to them for their "lands and tenures within the same city, according "to the custom of the said city; so as nevertheless, "that as well foreigners as others may make their at"torneys, as well in pleading as defending, as else"where in our courts; and they may not be ques"tioned as miskenning in any their pleas; that is to "say, if they have not declared altogether well; and "of all their debts which were lent at London, and "promises there made, pleas be there holden, accord"ing to the just and ancient custom.

"Furthermore, we do also grant, toward the "amendment of the aforesaid city, that all be quit "of childwite and jeresgive, and from scotale; so "that our sheriffs of London, nor any other bailiff,

" shall not make any scotale: and also, that the said " citizens may justly have and hold their lands, " tenures or premises; and also their debts, whosoever do owe them; and that no merchant or other " do meet with any merchant coming by land or by " water, with their merchandizes or victuals, towards " the city, to buy or sell again, till they come to the " said city, and there have put the same to sale, " upon the forfeiture of the things brought, and pain " of imprisonment; from whence he shall not escape " without great punishment: and that none show " out their wares to sell, who owe any custom, till " the custom thereof be levied, without great punishment, and upon pain of forfeiture of all that commodity, of him that happens to do otherwise: and " that no merchant, stranger, or other, may buy or " sell any wares, which ought to be weighed or " troned, unless by our beams or trone, upon forfeiture of the said wares.

" Moreover, those debts, which of their contracts " or loans shall be due unto them, they may cause " to be enrolled in our Exchequer, for the more " surety of them, upon the recognizance of those " who shall stand bound unto them in the said debts: " so as nevertheless, that no debts be enrolled upon " the recognizance of any person who is not there " known; or unless it be manifested concerning his " person by the testimony of six or four lawful men, " who be sufficient to answer as well for the debt as " for the damages, which any may have of such recognizances, if the same happen to be falsely done " under their names: and for every pound to be enrolled in the Exchequer, one penny to be paid to " our use, for the charge of sustentation of those " which must attend to such enrolling: these liberties and free customs we grant to them, to hold to " them and their heirs, so long as they shall well

" and faithfully behave themselves to us and our " heirs, together with all their just and reasonable " customs, which, in time of us and our predecessors heretofore, they have had, as well for manner " of pleading of their tenures, debts, and promises, " as for all other causes whatsoever, concerning both " them and the same city. So long as the customs " be not contrary to right law and justice; saving in " all things the liberty of the church of Westminster, " to the abbots and monks of the same place, to " them granted by the charters of us and our predecessors, kings of England. But as touching our " Jews and merchant-strangers, and other things out " of our foresaid grant touching us or our said city, " we and our heirs shall provide as to us shall seem " expedient.

" These being witnesses: R. king of Almain, our " brother; Edward, our first son; Roger of " Mortimer; Roger de Clifford; Roger Leybourn; Robert Watrand; Robert Acquilor; " Mi. Godfrey; Gifford, our Chancellor; Walter de Merton; John Cheshill, Archdeacon " of London; John de la Lind; William de " Aette; and others. Given by our hand at " Westminster, the 26th day of March, in the " two and fiftieth year of our reign."

By the above charter all past offences are remitted, and the ancient privileges, with the exception of the election of the magistrates, are confirmed. Soon after this the king, by his precept, directed to Alen le Souche, the mayor, orders him to present six persons eligible for sheriffs, from whom he chose two as his bailiffs, viz. Walter Harvey, and William de Durham, who were sworn faithfully to collect the city duties for the king's use, and to render an exact account thereof to the barons of the Exchequer.

The mayor was then discharged from his office, and Stephen Edworth, constable of the Tower, was appointed *custos* of the city.

The following account of the profits arising to his majesty in the city, for half a year, as delivered into the Exchequer by the above-named bailiffs, is extracted from Madox's History of the Exchequer:

	L.	S.	D.
By the amount of tronages (the king's weigh-house) and petty strandages	97	13	11
By the amount of customs of all sorts of foreign merchandizes, together with the issues of divers passages	75	6	10
By the metage of corn, and customs at Billingsgate	5	18	7
By the customs of fish, &c. brought to London-bridge-street	7	0	2
By the issue of the field and bars of Smithfield	4	7	6
By toll raised at the city gates, and duties on the river of Thames, westward of the bridge	8	13	2
By stallages, duties arising from the markets of Westcheap, Grass Chirche, and Wool Chirchehawe, and annual soccage of the butchers of London	42	0	5
By the produce of Queenhithe	17	9	2
By the chattels of foreigners, forfeited for trading in the city, contrary to the laws and customs thereof	10	11	0
By places and perquisites within the city	86	5	9
By the produce of the Waidarii and Ambiani of Corbye and Neele, French merchants of those towns	9	6	8
Sum total,	364	13	2

Which is equivalent to 1093l. 19s. 7½d. of the present money; on the delivery of these accounts, they were commanded to bring the bodies of John Adrien and Luke de Batencurt, the late sheriffs, before the Barons of the Exchequer on a certain day, and to seize the chattels of Batencurt for money due to the king, and for not passing their accounts.

About this time a violent dispute arising between the company of goldsmiths and that of the merchant taylors; and several other companies taking part with one or the other, their passions were at length so inflamed, that more than five hundred people, completely armed, assembled in the night, and engaged with such fury, that many persons were killed and wounded of both parties: nor did the battle cease, till the sheriffs, having raised a considerable body of the citizens, seized several of the combatants; thirteen of whom, being tried and convicted, received sentence of death, and suffered accordingly.

On the 21st of April, in the same year, was held a national synod, at London, under Cardinal Othobon, the pope's legate; to which were summoned all the prelates of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. The canons of this council were of great authority, and looked upon as a rule of discipline for the English church: and many of them are still in force, and make part of our canon law. 1267

Westminster new abbey-church was completed in the following year, and was esteemed the finest church at that time in the western parts of Europe.

The king, in the year 1270, conferred the government of the city of London on his son Edward, and gave him all the revenues thereunto belonging: who appointed Hugh Fitz Otho constable of the Tower and custos of the city, and chose William de Hadestone and Anketyll de Alverne sheriffs, out of six men named by the citizens.

Edward, in this capacity, ingratiated himself greatly with the Londoners, by relieving them, for the sum of two hundred marks, from paying a certain toll to a foreigner, who farmed it of the king; and by obtaining from the king the privilege of chusing their magistrates, according to ancient charter. For which the citizens, instead of 315l. agreed to pay four hundred pounds per ann. for the city farm.

In consequence of this happy turn of fortune, the citizens immediately chose John Adrien their mayor, and Philip Taylor and Walter Potter their sheriffs; who were presented by Prince Edward himself, to the king at Westminster, and sworn; and the custos was discharged. And, in gratitude for this favour, the citizens presented the king with one hundred marks, and to the prince they gave five hundred marks.

The king, on his part, was so well reconciled, that he confirmed all their ancient rites and immunities by a charter, dated the twenty-first of July following.

In this year the rains were so excessive, that the fruits of the earth were in a great measure destroyed; and the river Thames, breaking down and overflowing its banks in many places, did inconceivable damage both to houses and land.

The consequence of these inundations were severely felt; for wheat rose to the enormous price of six pounds eight shillings the quarter; and the famine at length raged to such an astonishing degree, that, if the authority of ancient writers may be relied on, many of the poorer people were reduced to the dreadful necessity of eating their own children.

The death of Henry III. happened in 1272, when Prince Edward was on an expedition to Palestine, at that period the fashionable school of war.

From Madox's History of the Exchequer, Chap. XVIII. p. 528, we learn, that in this year wine-gaugers were appointed at London, and the other principal sea-ports; and that, at London, the new gauge duty amounted to fifteen pounds sixteen shillings and seven-pence; which, at one penny per dolium, or ton, makes the quantity imported amount to three thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine tons.

The principal customs for importation at that period, seem to have been on wines, chiefly French and Rhenish, as there is yet scarcely any mention of Spanish, Portuguese, or Italian wines.

During this reign, the Lubeckers obtained a second grant of commercial privileges, upon the same terms as were enjoyed by the merchants of Cologne; but the advantages of commerce to a state, appear to have been still so little understood, that this grant was only obtained as a compliment to the Duke of Brunswick, who had taken that city under his protection. We learn, however, from Gerard Malynes, that a society of Englishmen had existed for some time previous to this period, under the name of the Merchants of the Staple, so called from exporting the then staple-wares of the kingdom, which were only the rough materials for manufacture, viz. wool, skins, lead, and tin: though the fabric of woollen cloths, and the importation of Spanish wool, were of a much more ancient date. With this simple commerce, England long supplied all her foreign wants, and brought home annually a considerable balance of gold and silver.

CHAP. X.

CHAP. X.

The Flemings expelled the City.—Reception of the young King.—Dissensions about the choice of a Mayor.—Frauds in the sale of Provisions.—Complaints of the Citizens.—The Mayor appointed his Majesty's Ambassador beyond seas.—The convent of Blackfriars founded.—New Wall.—Commercial treaty with Flanders.—Difference with the Bremeners.—The Market on London-bridge prohibited.—Execution of a great number of Jews.—The Mint kept by the Lucca Merchants.—Repairs of London-bridge.—The Merchants of the Steelyard obliged to keep Bishopsgate in repair.—The Citizens first summoned to Parliament by the King's Writ.—Murder of Lawrence Ducket.—The City divided into Wards.—The Jewish Synagogues destroyed.—Citizens prohibited from wearing Arms.—The City deprived of its Privileges.—Petition for the expulsion of Merchant Strangers.—Grants to the King.—The City fined 20,000 Marks.—Its Privileges restored.—Charter of confirmation.—The Price of Provisions regulated.—Vessels of Gold to be assayed by the goldsmiths of London.—The Exchequer robbed.—First Recorder.---Execution of Sir William Wallace.—Prohibition to burn sea-coal in London.—The King's writ for the suppression of Thieves.—Composition in lieu of a tax.

PRINCE Edward had reached Sicily on his return from the Holy Land, when he received the account of his father's death; but, knowing that England was in a state of perfect tranquillity, he spent the next year in France, and did not reach his kingdom until 1274.

In the mean time he dispatched a letter from Caples, to the mayor, sheriffs, and commonalty of London, dated Jan. 19, An. reg. primo; in which, after relating the injuries done to his people by the Flemish, he ordered that all Flemings should, by proclamation, be expelled the city of London, on penalty of forfeiture of all their effects. He also charged the magistrates to preserve the peace of the city; and, not having the seal of the kingdom, he sealed those letters with the seal of the king of Sicily.

This mark of esteem so heightened the affections of the citizens for their new king, that he was received on his arrival in the city, with the greatest pomp and magnificence. The outsides of the houses were hung with the richest silks and tapestry; the conduits were supplied with the choicest wines, and the most wealthy citizens scattered gold and silver among the populace.*

These beginnings promised the city great felicity under King Edward, when civil dissension broke out amongst the Londoners about the choice of a mayor; which, under a sovereign less disposed to moderation and justice, might have proved fatal to their liberties. But Edward only interposed as a friendly moderator, when parties ran so high as to admit of no compromise, and appointed a custos till they could be brought to reason. However, this convinced the citizens of the danger of their intestine broils; and so far wrought upon their passions, that they unanimously chose Sir Walter Harvey, in a folkmote, for mayor, rather than the king should have an excuse to intermeddle with their civil government. This Harvey was the very man set up by the populace, in opposition to the regular choice of Philip de Taylour. But they were soon convinced of his bad practices, and had the resolution not only to degrade him from the office of an alderman, but to render him incapable of sitting in the city council, and to make him give sufficient security for his quiet and peaceable behaviour for the future.

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* Hollinshed's Chronicle.

The gross frauds and impositions which prevailed at this period in the sale of provisions, rendered the legislative interference necessary, particularly with respect to the bakers, and to the millers, for giving short weight, and bad measure. The king therefore commanded the mayor and sheriffs to enforce the new laws made for the prevention of such evils in future. By these laws, the baker, for his first offence, was to forfeit his bread; for the second to suffer imprisonment; and for the third, to be pilloried. Fraudulent millers were to be punished by being drawn through certain streets, in a tumbrel, or dung-cart, exposed to the derision of the populace. The magistrates were also commanded to regulate the price of provisions, especially of poultry and fish, which had been engrossed by a few rapacious hucksters. Accordingly an ordinance was issued by the magistrates of the city in the following form:

“ By the command of the Lord the King, and with
“ the assent and consent of the gentlemen of the
“ kingdom, and citizens aforesaid, That no huckster
“ of fowl (or poulterer) go out of the city to meet
“ them that bring poultry into the city, to make any
“ buying from them; but buy in the city, after the
“ buyers of the Lord the king, of the barons, and the
“ citizens have bought and had what shall be needful
“ for them, namely, after three o'clock, and not
“ before: And then let them buy thus:

	S.	D.	Q.
The best hen, at - - -	0	3	2
The best pullet, at - - -	0	1	3
The best capon, at - - - -	0	2	0
The best goose, from Easter to Whitsunday	0	5	0
Ditto, from ditto to St. Peter ad vincula	0	4	0

The

	S.	D.	Q.
The best goose, in all other parts of the year, at - - - -	0	3	0
The best wild-goose, at - -	0	4	0
The best young pigeons, three for -	0	1	0
The best mallard, at - - -	0	3	2
The best cercel, at - - -	1	6	0
The best wild duck, at - -	0	1	3
The best partridge, at - - -	0	3	2
The best begaters, four for - -	0	1	0
The best larks, a dozen for - -	0	1	0
The best pheasant, at - - -	0	4	0
The best botor, at - - -	0	6	0
The best heron, at - - -	0	6	0
The best corlune, at - - -	0	3	0
The best plover, at - - -	0	1	0
The best swan, at - - -	3	0	0
The best crane, at - - -	3	0	0
The best peacock, at - - -	0	1	0
The best coney, with the skin, at - -	0	4	0
One ditto, without the skin, - -	0	3	0
The best hare, without the skin, at -	0	3	2
The best kid, from Christmas to Lent, at -	0	10	0
Ditto, at other times of the year - -	0	6	0
The best lamb, from Christmas to Lent -	0	6	0
Ditto, at other times of the year - -	0	4	0

It was also ordained " That no huckster of fish, " (or fishmonger) who sells fish again to others, " go out to meet those that bring or carry fish to " the city, to make a forestall thence; nor have any " partnership with a stranger, who brings fish from sea " to the city; but let them seek for fish in their own " ships, and permit foreigners to bring it, and " to sell when they are come, in their own " ships: Because, by such partnership, they who " are of the city, and have known the state of

" the city, and the defect of victuals, will hold " the fish at a greater dearness than foreigners, " who shall not have known it: and also, that they " who are of the city, when they cannot sell as they " will, lay it up in cellars, and sell dearer than the " strangers would do, if they came without partnership, and knew not where they might be harboured: nor let them buy any thing in the city, until " the king's servants, &c. have bought, and not before " three o'clock. And if they who have bought fish " shall come after three o'clock, let them not sell " that day, but let them sell on the morrow morning. And, if they expect more, let the fish be " taken into the lord the king's hands: and let them " keep no fish, except salt fish, beyond the second " day of their coming; which if it shall happen to be " found, let them lose their fish, and be at the " mercy of the lord the king [to fine them]. And " thus let the huckster of fish buy, that they afford,

	S.	D.	Q.
The best plaise, at - - -	0	1	2
The best soles, the dozen, at - -	0	3	0
The best fresh mulvel, at - -	0	3	0
The best salt mulvel, at - -	0	3	0
The best haddock, at - -	0	2	0
The best barkey, at - - -	0	4	0
The best mullet, at - - -	0	2	0
The best conger, at - -	1	0	0
The best turbet, at - -	0	6	0
The best dorac, at - -	0	5	0
The best bran, sard, and betule, at -	0	3	0
The best mackarel, in Lent, at -	0	1	0
Ditto, out of Lent, at - - -	0	0	2
The best gurnard, at - -	0	1	0
The best fresh merlings, four for -	0	1	0
The best powdered ditto, twelve for -	0	1	0
The best pickled herrings, twenty for -	0	1	0

The

	S.	D.	Q.
The best fresh herrings, before Michaelmas, six for	0	1	0
Ditto, after ditto, twelve for	0	1	0
The best Thames or Severn lamprey, at	0	4	0
The best Buge stock-fish, at	0	1	0
The best Mulvil stock-fish, at	0	0	3
The best croplings, three for	0	1	0
The best fresh oysters, a gallon for	0	2	0
The best fresh salmon, from Christmas to Easter, at	5	0	0
Ditto, after ditto, at	3	0	0
A piece of rumb, gross and fat, at	0	4	0
The best new pickled balenes, the pound	0	2	0
Ditto, of the preceding year, the pound, at	0	1	0
The best sea hog, at	6	8	0
The best eels, a strike, or a quarter of an hundred	0	2	0
The best lampreys, in winter, the hundred, at	0	8	0
Ditto, at other times, the hundred, at	0	6	0
The best smelts, the hundred, at	0	1	0
The best roche, in summer, at	0	1	0
Ditto, at other times	0	0	2
The best lucy, at	6	8	0
The best lamprey of Nauntes, at first	1	4	0
Ditto, a month after, at	0	8	2
The Thames or Severn ditto, towards Easter, at	0	2	0

Great complaints were made at this time by the citizens of the exemptions from tallage, pleaded by several in the corporation, under charters purchased from the late king, whereby the burden fell on the middling and lower classes of the inhabitants, and also of a custom which had been introduced lately by the mayors, of tallaging the city by their own authority. All which grievances were presented by the juries of the several wards, before the justices in eyre, at the Tower, as illegal exactions upon the citizens.

In the third year of this reign, the mayor was appointed his majesty's ambasssador beyond seas; on which occasion the king committed the custody of the city to four citizens, who were recommended by its principal inhabitants.

In this year, Robert Kilwarby, Archbishop of Canterbury, by licence from the crown, founded the convent of Black Friars, or Friars Preachers; which was built with the stones taken out of the ruins of the tower of Mount Fitchet, and from a part of the city wall, pulled down to make way for the building. This produced an order from the king to the citizens of London to build a new wall, with a tower at the head of it, for his reception; which wall was to run from Ludgate westward, behind the houses to Fleet-ditch; and thence southward to the river Thames. For the completing of which new work, his Majesty granted the city a duty on sundry merchandizes, for the term of three years; and soon after, sent them the following letter:

" Whereas, we have granted you, for the aid of " the work of the walls of our city, and the closure " of the same, divers customs of vendible things " coming to the said city, to be taken for a certain " time: we command you, that you cause to be " finished the wall of the said city, now begun near " the mansion of the Friars Preachers, and a certain " good and comely tower at the head of the said " wall, within the water of the Thames there; " wherein we may be received, and tarry with " honour, to our ease and satisfaction, in our comings " there, out of the pence taken, and to be taken of "the said customs, &c. Witness myself at Westminster, 8th of July, regni 4."

This year is also remarkable for the first commercial treaty between England and Flanders, by which 1276 a stop was put to the continual disputes between the English and Flemish merchants, on account of their commercial rivalry. But it was of no long duration, for, in 1278, we again find mention of mutual seizures, and misunderstandings.

In the second volume of Rymer's Fœdera, p. 1065, is a letter from Albert, Duke of Brunswick, to Edward I. dated in 1276, in behalf of the merchants of Bremen, then subject to that prince, requesting that they might be again permitted safely to resort to London for their commercial affairs, as in the time of his royal ancestors; the Bremeners being, at this time, at variance with the Londoners, because Herman, a Bremener resident in London, had run beyond sea, without paying his proportion of an imposition laid by the king on the city of London. This shows that in those days it was usual for the aggregate body of every nation of foreign merchants residing here, to be obliged to answer for the misdemeanours of every individual of their number.

It was ordered, in the fifth year of this reign, that no market should be held on London Bridge, or elsewhere, except in such places as should be appointed in a common council: and also that no person should go into Southwark to buy cattle, or any wares to be brought into the city, under the penalty of the forfeiture of the thing bought.

The year 1278 proved fatal to the Jews, who, being convicted of clipping and diminishing the king's coin, were seized and imprisoned throughout England in one day: and 280 of both sexes were convicted and executed in London: as were also great numbers in other parts of England; the moiety of whose effects was given to the house for converted Jews, now the Rolls Office in Chancery-lane.

In the same year, according to Madox's History of the Exchequer, Chap. XXIII. p. 633, "The Lucca merchants residing in London, were the keepers of the Cambium, or Mint of London." So little were our own people, in those times, acquainted with the art of coining money.

London-bridge was become so dangerous, from its ruinous condition, that, in 1281, the citizens were obliged to apply to the king for relief and aid to repair it: and his majesty, by letters patent, empowered the bridge-keeper to receive the charity of his well-disposed subjects throughout the kingdom; and also to take a toll for three years, viz. of every foot-passenger, one farthing; of every horseman, one penny; and of every saleable pack, one half-penny.

Stowe, in his Survey of London, says, that in 1282, the city of London obliged the company of the Steel-yard to pay two hundred and ten marks for the repairs of Bishop's Gate, and to engage to keep it in repair in future. The merchants then residing at the Steel-yard were those of Cologne, Triers, Hamburg, Hunnondale, and Munster.

At this time, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Barons, had each a yearly stipend of forty pounds: and one of the Remembrancers had the same allowance for himself and clerks.

In the same year the king, in consideration of a sum of money paid him by the citizens of London, granted them a free pardon for whatever they had done contrary to their charters to this time. And, in the following year, he granted them certain customs for the reparation and inclosure of the city.

In the following winter, five of the arches of London-bridge were carried away by the ice.

It was in the year 1283 that the first considerable blow was given to the feudal tenures in England; by which the greater security of freedom and commerce in cities and towns was unquestionably promoted. It is proved by Rymer*, that, in this year, King Edward summoned to his parliament at Shrewsbury, two knights for each county, and two representatives for the twenty-one principal cities and towns in England, including London. This is the first instance in which writs were issued by the crown to cities and towns, but no regularity appears to have been preserved in the sending of these writs for three hundred years after this time; many places being occasionally omitted, at some elections, and sent to at subsequent ones, while others were added, without the direction of the king or his council, but, according to Dr. Brady, at the discretion of the sheriffs. He is also positive that the places which paid a fee-farm rent to the king, sent members, though they might not be burghs, *i. e.* corporations in a legal sense.

In 1284, Lawrence Ducket, a goldsmith, having wounded Ralph Crepin, in Cheapside, then called West-cheap, took sanctuary in Bow-church steeple: Crepin's friends surprised him in the night, and hanged him so artfully in one of the windows, that the coroner's inquest gave their verdict *felo de se*, and ordered the body to be drawn by the feet, and buried in a ditch without the city. However, a boy, who lay with Ducket that night, and had concealed himself during this barbarous action, at last gave information against the murderers. Many were apprehended, of whom sixteen were hanged; and a woman, the contriver of the murder, was burnt alive: other persons of distinction concerned therein,

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[*] Fœdera, Vol. II. p. 249.

were amerced in pecuniary fines: and the disgraced body was taken up and buried decently.

According to the record called Liber Albus, the city was, in 1285, divided into twenty-four wards; each ward chose their own alderman, and certain of their inhabitants to be of council to them. The names of the wards, and of their respective aldermen, were as follows:

NAMES OF WARDS.	THEIR ALDERMEN.
1 Ward Fori, or Foris,	Stephen Aswy.
2 Lodgate and Newgate,	William de Farndon.
3 Castle Baynard,	Richard Aswey.
4 Aldersgate,	William le Maiener.
5 Bredstrete,	Ducan de Botevile.
6 Queenhythe,	Simon de Jadestock.
7 Vintry,	John de Gisors.
8 Dougate,	Gregory de Rockesley.
9 Walbrook,	Thomas Box.
10 Coleman Strete,	John Fitz-Peter.
11 Bassishaw,	Radus le Blound.
12 Cripplegate,	Henry Frowick.
13 Candlewyc Strete,	Robert de Basing.
14 Langeford,	Nicholas de Winton.
15 Cordewan Strete,	Henry de Walleys, Mayor.
16 Cornhill,	Martin Box.
17 Lime Strete,	Robert de Brockesley.
18 Bishopsgate,	Philip le Taylour.
19 Alegate,	John de Northampton.
20 Tower Ward,	William de Thadestock.
21 Billingsgate,	Wolman de Essex.
22 Bridg Ward,	Joseph de Achatur.
23 Lodingeber,	Robert de Arras.
24 Portsoky,	Prior of Holy Trinity at Alegate.

It was ordained, in this year, that no more than one half-penny should be paid for grinding a quarter of wheat.

The same year, the Jewish synagogues in London were destroyed, by order of Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury.

By the second statute-merchant passed this year at Winchester, for the encouragement of merchant-strangers, as foreign merchants were then called, there are only three cities, before the mayors of which they might summon their debtors, viz. London, York, and Bristol.

From another statute of the same year, not yet printed in English, it would seem either that the people of London must have been of a very bad disposition, or else badly governed; for, after reciting the murders, robberies, and riots committed not only in the night, but even in the day-time, in the city of London, it enjoins, that "none be found in the streets, either with spear, or buckler, after the curfeu-bell of the parson of St. Martins-le-grand rings out, except they be great lords, and other persons of note: also, that no tavern, either for wine or ale, be kept open, after that bell rings out, on forfeiture of forty pence; nor any fencing school be kept in the city, or non-freemen be resident therein."

Most of the historiographers of London attribute these disorders to the government of the city having been seized on by the crown, in consequence of a difference between the lord-treasurer and the mayor, who had refused to attend him, and give an account of the measures taken by him and the aldermen for the preservation of the peace; but as this event happened at a period of perfect quiet in the nation, it is much more probable that the magistrates were called to account for not having repressed the evils which produced the above order, and called for legislative interference; since it is evident from the demand, that the peace had been previously broken. However this may be, the city was deprived of its liberties for twelve years, and the mayor and many of the principal citizens were imprisoned upon different charges, among whom one Thomas Pywelesdon, who had been active in the barons' war, and fifty-seven more, were banished the city for life.

In this year, we learn from Howell's Londinopolis, " that the great conduit in Cheapside was castellated with stone, and cisterned with lead," as this author expresses it: so that they were near fifty years in completing this useful undertaking.

The foreign merchants, who were always an object of misplaced jealousy, while the true interests of commerce remained unknown, had been expelled the kingdom, subsequent to the passing of the statute-merchant, noticed above. They were, however, recalled in 1289, by the king and lords; whereupon the city of London, which had always been among the most violent in opposing them, petitioned the king to have them sent away again; the answer to which was, " The king is of opinion that merchant-strangers are useful and beneficial to the great men of the kingdom, and is therefore against expelling them." They had hitherto been considered only as a sort of necessary evils, and were for some time restrained from acting for themselves, and from being housekeepers in towns; consequently they were obliged to employ their English landlords as brokers and agents in the recovery of their debts, but now these disabilities were removed, and they were permitted to dispose of their goods without the intervention of a third person, by which a source of great emolument to many of the citizens of London was annihilated.

In this year the account between the crown and the city was audited by the barons of the Exchequer, and the Londoners were found five hundred and thirty-eight pounds six shillings and eleven-pence in debt to King Edward. A subsidy was also granted for the repairs of London-bridge.

The following year, being the eighteenth of King Edward I. the parliament gave a fifteenth of all moveable goods to the king; which, on the city of London, amounted to no more than six thousand six hundred and eighty pounds thirteen shillings and eight pence; but no true estimate can be made of London's wealth from this tax, since it is now impracticable to ascertain the manner of laying taxes of this description.

In 1293, three persons having rescued a prisoner from a sheriff's officer, had their hands cut off, at the Standard, in Cheapside.

The king's vast expense in his war against France, obliged him to require a seventh part of all moveables from his demesne cities and burghs, in the year 1295. At the same time, the earls, barons, and knights, paid an eleventh; and the clergy gave a tenth; for the collection of which, we, for the first time, meet with the king's summons to the clergy to assemble in convocation, in the manner it is arranged at present.

Edward having been informed that several of the clergy had been committed by the laity to the Tun, a prison so called, in Cornhill, on pretence of their having committed crimes, of which they were entirely innocent, he showed his disapprobation of such measures, by directing the following writ to the mayor and citizens.

"Edward, by the grace of God, &c. Whereas, "Richard Gravesend, Bishop of London, hath showed unto us, that by the great charter of England, "the church hath a privilege, that no clerk shall be "imprisoned by a layman, without our commandment and breach of peace; which notwithstanding, "some citizens of London, upon mere spite, do "enter, in their watches, into clerks' chambers, and, "like felons, do carry them to the Tunne, which "Henry de Walleys, some time mayor, built for "night-walkers. Wherefore, we will that this our "commandment be proclaimed in full hustings; and "that no watch hereafter enter into any clerk's "chamber, under the forfeit of twenty pounds. "Dated at Carlisle, the 18th of March, in the "twenty-fifth year of our reign."

This so disgusted the citizens, that nine principal inhabitants broke open the Tunne prison, and set several of the prisoners at liberty. For which the rioters were personally punished by a long and painful imprisonment; and the city was amerced at twenty thousand marks. However, the behaviour of the Londoners, at the king's return victorious from Scotland soon after, was so engaging, that His Majesty, on Easter Wednesday, in consideration of the said fine of twenty thousand marks, and an addition of three thousand marks more, paid into his Exchequer by the Londoners, restored to them the power of electing their mayor: and they accordingly chose William Walleys into that high office.

This act of the royal favour was immediately followed by a charter of confirmation of all the city's ancient privileges, dated the eighteenth day of April, in the six-and-twentieth year of his reign; in which charter, amongst other things, it is contained,

"That whereas, our said citizens, by the charters "of our said progenitors have been accustomed "hitherto to present every mayor, whom they have "chosen in the said city yearly, before the barons of

" the Exchequer (our progenitor or we not being " at Westminster), that he may be admitted by the " said barons as mayor for us, notwithstanding that, " at the next coming of our progenitor or of us unto " Westminster or London, he may be presented to " our progenitors, or to us, and so admitted mayor. " We, willing to show more ample favour to the " said citizens in that behalf, do grant to them, for " us and our heirs: The mayor of the said city, when " he shall be chosen by the said citizens, we, and " our heirs, and our barons, not being at Westminster " or at London, they may or shall be presented or " admitted to and by the constable of our Tower of " London, yearly, in such sort as before they were " wont to be presented and admitted; so as never- " theless, that, at the next coming of us or our heirs " to Westminster or London, the said mayor be " presented to us or our heirs, and admitted for " mayor.

" And also, we have granted for us and our heirs, " to our said citizens, that they and their successors, " citizens of the said city, be for ever quit and free of " pannage, pontage, and murage, throughout all the " realm, and all our dominions. And that the " sheriffs of the said city, as often as it shall happen " them to be amerced in our court for any offence, " they shall be amerced according to the measure " and quantity of the offence, as other the sheriffs " of our said realm have been amerced for the like " offence.

" Wherefore we will, and streightly charge and " command, for us and our heirs, that the said citizens " and their successors have all the liberties, freedoms, " quittals, and free customs aforesaid, and them may " or shall use according to our confirmation, reno- " vation, and grants aforesaid, for ever; as by the "aforesaid charter (amongst other things) more fully "appeareth."

All which the king certified by the following brief to his officers of his Exchequer:

"Edward, by the grace of God, &c. To his "treasurers and barons of the Exchequer, greeting: "Whereas, for the good service that our beloved "citizens of London have hitherto done us, by our "letters patent we have rendered and restored to "the same our aforesaid city, together with the "mayoralty, and all their liberties (which city, "mayoralty, and liberties, we have long since caused "to be taken into our hands) to be had and held to "the same citizens, according to their will, as freely "and entirely as they had and held them on the day "of the said taking them away, as is contained more "fully in our said letters: We command you, that "ye permit the same citizens to use and enjoy the "liberties which they have reasonably used on the "day of the aforesaid taking, before you in the Exchequer beforesaid, according to the tenor of "our aforesaid letters.

"Witness myself at York, the eight-and-twentieth "day of May, in the six-and-twentieth year of "our reign."

The additional privileges granted in this charter, are, 1. In the absence of the king and the barons of the Exchequer from Westminster, the mayor elect is to be presented and admitted by the constable of the Tower of London. 2. To be quit and free from pannage (Bohun thinks it should be printed pavage), *i. e.* a certain duty payable to the king for the liberty of sending swine, or cattle, to feed in any of his forests. 3. Pontage, a duty paid for passing over bridges with horses, carts, or other carriages; or under them with boats, ships, &c. towards the repairing of the said bridges. And, 4. To be quit and free from murage, which was a duty paid towards building or repairing of the walls of cities and towns throughout the kingdom.

An order to the mayor and sheriffs of London, to punish, corporally, all bakers, brewers, and millers, convicted of mal-practices; and all that were found to go armed in the night, and disturb the peace of the city; and to oblige millers to return flour by weight, according to the weight of the grain sent to be ground, accompanied this brief.

At the next election for mayor, Elias Russel was unanimously chosen, and was sworn into his office, before the constable of the Tower, according to the tenor of the last charter.

In his mayoralty, according to Stow, an act of common council was passed, with the consent of the king and the nobility, to regulate the prices of provisions, the only part of which now remaining, relates to poultry as follows:

	S.	D.	Q.
A fat cock at - - - -	0	1	2
Two pullets at - - -	0	1	2
A fat capon at - - - -	0	2	2
A goose at - - - -	0	4	0
A mallard at - - -	0	1	2
A partrich at - - - - -	0	1	2
A pheasant at - - - -	0	4	0
A heron at - - - -	0	6	0
A plover at - - -	0	1	0
A swan at - - - -	3	0	0
A crane at - - -	1	0	0
Two woodcocks at - - -	0	1	2
A fat lamb from Christmas to Shrovetide	1	4	0
One ditto for all the year at - -	0	4	0

The following were the salaries of the judge in this year, viz.

Chief Justice of the King's Bench,	50 marks.
———— Common Pleas,	100 ——
Chief Baron, - - -	40 pounds.
Each of the other Judges of the three Benches, - -	20 ———

According to Sir R. Baker, the royal palace at Westminster, and monastery adjoining, were this year consumed with fire.

We find, so early as the twenty-eighth year of this reign, an act of parliament, ordering, that "vessels of gold shall be marked after being assayed by the company of goldsmiths of London: and that no goldsmith shall make any vessel, jewel, or any thing of gold or silver, except it be of good and true allay. All the good towns of England, where any goldsmith shall dwell, shall govern themselves by this statute, in like manner as those of London: and one of the trade shall come to London from every good town, for all the rest of the trade there, to be ascertained of their touch." From all which it appears, that wealth and luxury began to show themselves in England much more now than in earlier times.

The following prices of various sorts of provisions, as they were sold in the thirtieth year of Edward I. is taken from Dugdale's History of St. Paul's.

	S.	D.	Q.
A quarter of wheat, at - -	4	0	0
A quarter of ground malt - -	3	4	0
A quarter of pease - - -	2	6	0
A quarter of oats - -	2	0	0
A bull - - -	7	6	0
A cow - - - -	6	0	0
A fat mutton - - -	1	0	0
One ewe sheep - -	0	8	0

	S.	D.	Q.
A capon - - -	0	2	0
A cock or hen - - -	0	1	2

It is mentioned in the Fœdera, Vol. II. p. 930, that in the year 1303, the king's Exchequer at Westminster was broke into, and robbed of the large sum of one hundred thousand pounds sterling. The abbot and monks of Westminster, within whose limits or jurisdiction the Exchequer was, were, on this account, imprisoned in the Tower of London, and indicted for this robbery, though afterwards acquitted.

The first time we read of a recorder of London, was in the year 1304, when Geoffrey de Hartilepole, alderman, was chosen into that office, took his oath, and was allowed to wear his gown as an alderman.

We are indebted to the Fœdera, Vol. II. p. 943, for an account of the size of ships at this period. It states, that in this year Edward lent to Philip the Fair of France, twenty ships to be picked out from amongst the *best* and *largest* of those of London, the Cinque Ports, &c. each of which were to be manned with at least forty stout men, and well furnished with all other requisites for war. The small complement of men sufficiently demonstrates the meanness of ships of war in those days.

The next year was stained with the blood of that valiant and celebrated Scottish champion, Sir William Wallace, who, being taken prisoner in the field of battle, defending his country, was, contrary to the laws of nations, hanged and quartered, in Smithfield; and his head stuck upon a pole fixed on London-bridge.

In the year 1306, the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London, presented the king with two thousand pounds on his conferring the order of knighthood on the young Prince of Wales.

This year is also remarkable for what would in this age seem a very extraordinary order: a prohibition to burn sea-coal in London; occasioned by a complaint made by the nobility and gentry to the king, alleging, that the air was infected with a noisome smell, and a thick cloud, from the coals used in the suburbs by brewers, dyers, &c. requiring large fires, to the great endangering the health of the inhabitants. Upon which his majesty issued his proclamation, prohibiting coals to be burnt in London and the suburbs, under severe penalties.

London was at this time infested with great numbers of thieves and robbers, in consequence of which the king sent his writ from Scotland to the mayor and sheriffs, commanding them to observe the statute of Winchester, which strictly enjoins the apprehending of all felons. The citizens, however, imagined that this injunction affected their liberties, and returned the following answer to the writ:

"We answer further, that at the Eves, as it is fit, "in wards, and also at taking inquisitions of trans"gressions and felonies, when need requires, in the "city, in each ward, about malefactors and re"ceivers, we were always ready, and will be, for the "keeping of the king's peace. But to keep the "statute of Winchester, in all its articles, in the "said city, as it is contained in that brief, we cannot "be charged in the foresaid city, by reason of divers "customs in the said city hitherto used; yet vagrants, "wanderers up and down, and such as are suspected "of evil in the said city, being found, we have "arrested, and always, when there shall be need, "will cause to be arrested, and will have them forth"coming before the justices of the lord king; as it "hath been appointed before, and after hath been "accustomed to be done in the same city.

"Concerning the inquisitions, as to returning "under seals the articles contained in the brief before "you, without the city, it never was accustomed "to be done; and therefore we have returned none "thence."

The last transaction between this corporation and the crown, in this reign, was an agreement in the Exchequer by John le Blound, the mayor, and all the aldermen of London, for themselves and the whole community of the city, to pay the king two thousand marks for the vintisme, or twentieth of the goods of the said community; the greatest part whereof they paid in tallies.

CHAP. XI.

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THE reign of Edward II. began very inauspiciously for the city. The sum of eighty-three pounds eleven shillings, part of the two thousand marks, mentioned at the end of the preceding chapter, having been left unpaid at the death of the late king, his son caused a *fieri facias* to be issued from the Exchequer, to distrain the goods of the citizens for it. Nor was this the only act of severity exercised against them, for he, shortly after, ordered a writ to be issued out of the Exchequer, against the aldermen who had collected the late tallages, to bring their accounts into the Exchequer. Yet we find, that, notwithstanding this harshness on the part of the king, he was received by the citizens of London, on his solemn entry in 1308, with a degree of splendor and elegance that sufficiently testified their loyalty.

The year 1310, is memorable for the subversion of the order of the knight's templars in London. They had been arrested in England, as well as all over the continent, in the preceding year: but now, by order of the king, their persons were removed from the Tower of London to the four city gates, and to a private house, because those gate-houses could not hold them all. They were afterwards allowed small pensions for their lives, which, in general, did not exceed four-pence per day, or one shilling of modern money. Their great master, however, William de la More, had two shillings per day.

The new part of the city wall, on the west of Ludgate, and the Tower, commanded by King Edward I. to be built at the extremity thereof, not being finished, the king issued his royal mandate to the mayor and citizens of London to proceed in the said work with the utmost expedition.

At the same time his majesty granted the following charter, which will sufficiently explain itself.

"Edward, the son of King Edward, &c. To "all, &c. Whereas, Gregory de Rockesley, our "mayor of London, and the other barons of the said "city, at our instance, have commonly and unanimously granted to the venerable Father Robert, "Archbishop of Canterbury, and his assigns, two "lanes, contiguous to his place of Castle Baynard "and the Tower of Mountfichet, to be stopped up "for the enlarging of the aforesaid place, and to "enclose them; while yet he shall assign a like way "to them, and as convenient for the commonalty of "the said city. And we, understanding from the "aforesaid mayor and barons of the said city, that "the said archbishop hath already prepared a better "way, and more convenient for the said commonalty, "than the aforesaid lanes were: we, to the said "archbishop and his assigns, for us and our heirs, "as much as in us is, do grant, ratify, and confirm "the aforesaid grant. So that our said barons of "London, by occasion of their aforesaid grant, nor "the archbishop, nor his assigns, on account of the "said changing of the ways, be accused or molested "for time to come before our justices intinerants at "the Tower of London, upon cause of perpresture "made of the aforesaid lanes. In testimony where-"of, &c.

"Witness myself at Westminster, the tenth day "of June, in the fourth year of our reign."

In the year 1311, the mayor and citizens undertook to pay several debts which the king had contracted, amounting in the whole to seventeen hundred pounds, in consideration of having the farm of the city, with certain issues, arising from aids, tallages, &c assigned to them.

The difference which had arisen between the king and the nobility, on account of his favourite Gaveston, having assumed a serious aspect, his majesty charged the mayor and citizens of London to take care of the city, and not to suffer any person whatsoever, without his special permission, to enter therein with horse or arms. And his majesty also commanded the barons of the Exchequer to enquire by what right the sheriffs claimed certain farms and other dues demanded for the king's use; who, after inquisition made, reported,* "That the citizens of London, for the time being, where sheriffs in fee of London and Middlesex;" and enjoined, "John Gisors, the mayor, with eight aldermen and one commoner, who were present on behalf of the community of the city, to transact certain affairs relating to the office of sheriff, which tended to the king's service." This injunction was given to them as being virtually sheriffs of London and Middlesex, and representatives of those who were to be so in future.

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* Madox's Firma Burgi.

In the same year the mayor and aldermen of London were made acquainted with the king's intention to tax his several demesnes; and the city of London being included under that appellation, the magistrates were sent for by the privy council, then sitting at Whitefriars, in Fleet-street, and asked if they would fine for their tallage, or raise the sum required by a pole-tax, and an assessment on their estates.

The mayor and his brethren desired they might be permitted to consult the commonalty; which request being complied with, they gave for answer, that the king's demesnes were liable to taxation whenever his Majesty should think it necessary; but that the city of London was, undoubtedly, free from such tallage, not only by the rights, privileges, and immunities, granted to them by Magna Charta, and so often confirmed by other charters, but by their paying the king a sum of money annually for the fee-farm of the city: they therefore solicited the deferring of the said tallage till the parliament should meet, as they should then have an opportunity of conferring with many of the nobility who were proprietors of land and tenements in the city.

They were told that if they would lend two thousand marks to the king, the tax should be deferred, agreeable to their request. The citizens refused to agree to this proposal; whereupon, commissioners were appointed to assemble at Guildhall to assess the said tallage.

This circumstance alarmed the mayor and citizens to such a degree, that they offered to lend the king one thousand pounds, on condition that the assessment might not be permitted to take effect before the meeting of the next parliament; which was granted by letters patent to the said citizens, dated at Windsor, the 13th of February, in the sixth year of our reign. On the same day an order was issued to the assessors of the county of Oxford, forbidding them to assess the citizens of London trading to Henley, and not being inhabitants thereof, paying scot and lot. The thousand pounds were demanded and paid two days afterwards, as appears by the city records.

Stow's Survey of London gives us an instance of the splendor of our great English nobility at this time, in their grand retinues, housekeeping, cloathing, and equipages. It is the debit side of the account of H. Leicester, cofferer, *i. e.* paymaster or steward of Thomas, Earl of Leicester.

	L.	S.	D.
To the amount of the charge of the pantry, buttery, and kitchen -	3405	0	0
To three hundred and sixty-nine pipes of red wine, and two pipes of white	104	17	6
To all sorts of grocery wares - -	180	17	0
To six barrels of sturgeon - - -	19	0	0
To six thousand dried fishes of all sorts - - -	14	6	7
To seventeen hundred and fourteen pounds of wax, vermillion, and turpentine - - -	314	7	4
To the charge of the earl's great horses, and servants' wages - -	436	4	3
To linen for the earl, his chaplains, and table - - -	43	17	0
To one hundred and twenty-nine dozen of skins of parchment and ink	4	8	3
Carried forward,	4522	17	11

To

	L.	S.	D.
Brought forward,	4522	17	11
To two scarlet cloths for the earl's use, one of russet for the Bishop of Angew, seventy of blue for the knights, twenty-eight for the 'squires, fifteen for the clerks, fifteen for the officers, nineteen for the grooms, five for the archers, four for the minstrels and carpenters, with the sharing and carriage for the earl's liveries, at Christmas - -	460	15	0
To seven furs of powdered ermine, seven hoods of purple, three hundred and ninety-five furs of budge for the liveries of barons, knights, and clerks, and one hundred and twenty-three furs of lamb, bought at Christmas, for the 'squires - -	147	17	8
To one hundred and sixty-eight yards of russet cloth, and twenty-four coats for poor men, with money given the poor on Maundy-Thursday	8	16	7
To sixty-five saffron-coloured cloths for the barons and knights in summer, twelve red cloths for the clerks, twenty-six cloths for the 'squires, one for the officers, and four ray cloths for carpets in the hall	345	13	8
To one hundred pieces of green silk for the knights, fourteen budge furs for surcoats, thirteen hoods of budge for clerks, and seventy-five furs of lambs for liveries in summer, with canvas and cords to tie them -	72	19	0
Carried forward,	5558	19	10

To

	L.	S.	D.
Brought forward,	5558	19	10
To saddles for the summer liveries -	51	6	8
To one saddle for the earl - -	2	0	0
To several items, the particulars in the account defaced - -	241	14	1
To horses lost in service - -	8	6	8
To fees paid to earls, barons, knights, and 'squires - - -	623	15	5
To gifts to French knights, Countess of Warren, queen's nurses, 'squires, minstrels, messengers, and riders	92	14	0
To twenty-four silver dishes, twenty-four saucers, twenty-four cups, one pair of pater-nosters, and one silver coffin, all bought this year, when silver was at 1s. 8d. per ounce	103	5	6
To several messengers - -	34	19	8
To sundry things in the earl's bed-chamber - - -	5	0	0
To several old debts paid this year -	88	16	0¾
To the countess's disbursements at Pickering - - - -	440	0	5
To two thousand three hundred and nineteen pounds of tallow candles, and eighteen hundred and seventy pounds of lights, called Paris candles, or white wax candles - -	31	14	3
Total Expense for the year 1313	£.7282	12	6¾

The difference in the value of silver at that time, and at the present day, may be correctly ascertained from this account, which states silver to have been at one shilling and eightpence the ounce, consequently twelve ounces were equivalent to the pound sterling: and as the rate of living was then five times as cheap as it is now, the earl's expences for the year may be estimated at upwards of one hundred thousand pounds of our money. The prices of some things in this account are also well worth observing. The three hundred and seventy-one pipes of wine cost but one hundred and four pounds seventeen shillings and sixpence, which is scarcely seventeen shillings of our money per pipe; but as the earl had an estate in Anjou, it is probable he obtained his wines at the first hand. The parchment is only at eightpence and a fraction per dozen, or about two shillings and one penny of modern money. The cloths, silk, &c. being intermixed with other things, cannot be justly calculated, yet appear to have been very cheap, compared with the same things in our age.

About the year 1314, a great part of St. Paul's spire (made of timber, covered with lead) being weak, and in danger of falling, was taken down, and a new cross, with a pommel, well gilt, set on the top thereof. In which cross were deposited the reliques of divers saints by Gilbert de Segrave, then Bishop of London.

The parliament having in this year petitioned the king and his council, on account of the intolerable dearness of provisions, it was ordered that the prices of the different articles should be regulated as under, as appears by the king's letter to the sheriffs of London, viz.

	L.	S.	D.
The best grass-fed ox, alive, at -	0	16	0
The best grain-fed ox, at - -	1	4	0
The best cow, at -	0	12	0
The best hog of two years old, at -	0	3	4
The best shorn mutton, at - -	0	1	4
The best goose, at - -	0	0	3
The best capon, at - - -	0	0	2½
The best hen, at - - -	0	0	1½

The

The best chickens, two for	0	0	1½
The best young pigeons, three for	0	0	1
Twenty eggs, at	0	0	1

The elections for sheriffs and mayor being frequently disturbed by popular tumults, the king, to prevent the like irregularities in future, issued the following letter, by way of proclamation:

“ Edward, by the grace of God, &c. to the mayor and sheriffs of London, greeting.

“ Whereas by the charters of our progenitors, kings of England, it was granted to our citizens of our city aforesaid, that they should choose a mayor and sheriffs from themselves, when they would, and present them, we not being at Westminster, to the treasurer and barons of our Exchequer, and there to be admitted according to custom; and such election by the mayor and aldermen, and more discreet persons of the said city, especially summoned and warned for this purpose, hath been accustomed in former times: and now we have understood, that some of the popular and plebeian sort, making a conspiracy among themselves, causing contentions, differences, and innumerable mischiefs, day and night, in the said city, and making among them clandestine conventicles in private places, and being not called nor summoned, do thrust and mingle themselves of their own accord into such elections; and, by threatenings and clamours hindering the due making of such elections, endeavour to choose such as for time to come may favour their errors; that their wickedness, by defect of congruous government, may pass unpunished under dissimulation, by such persons so elected, to the hurt of our crown and dignity, and the subversion of the "state of the aforesaid city, and the manifest oppression of our citizens abiding in it: We, willing "to provide for the quiet and tranquillity of the "people under us, as we are bound, and to meet "with such malice, command, firmly enjoining you, "that, before the time of the election of the mayor "and sheriffs next to be chosen, ye cause it to be "publicly proclaimed through the whole city, and "firmly to be forbid, that none, unless he shall be "to this especially called or summoned, or is "bound thereto, come thither at the time, nor intrude himself in making the election, nor hinder "it any way, under pain of imprisonment; from "which he may not escape without our special command; and that the aforesaid election be made by "the aldermen, and the other more discreet and "powerful citizens of the said city, as in the same it "hath been anciently accustomed to be done: taking "notice for the future, that, if ye shall present any "election, otherwise than is mentioned before, to "the treasurer and barons of our Exchequer aforesaid, we will by no means admit them.

"Witness myself at Westminster, the fourth day "of July, in the eighth year of our reign."

The citizens having neglected to make the necessary application to parliament, to prevent the tallage which had been postponed from being levied, the king's necessities made him take advantage of this oversight, and he gave a commission to Henry de Staunton, Henry Scrop, John de Markfield, and Rafe de Stoke, to tax the city, of which he gave notice to the sheriffs, by a precept, dated October the twenty-fourth, in the same year; to which an explanatory letter was added on the sixth of November following: but the city obtained a further delay until the ensuing parliament, by lending the government a further sum of six hundred marks; as appears by letters patent, bearing date December the sixteenth.

During the year 1315, the prices of provisions increased greatly, owing to excessive rains, so that wheat rose to two pounds per quarter; pease and beans to one pound; malt to thirteen shillings and fourpence, and good ale was sold for three-pence, and even four-pence per gallon. The scarcity continued through the following year, during which wheat advanced to four pounds per quarter, and as this was attributed to the great quantities of it made into malt, an act of parliament was passed, prohibiting the making of malt from wheat; and an order was issued by the mayor for carrying that act into execution, and another for regulating the prices of strong drink, which was not to be sold for more than three-halfpence per gallon. But notwithstanding these regulations, the famine encreased to that degree that, according to Stow and Speed, parents ate their own children, and malefactors devoured each other in prison: and this was accompanied by such a pestilence and mortality, that the living were scarcely sufficient to bury the dead.

Perhaps these evils were, in some degree, attributable to the ordinance of the preceding year for fixing the prices of provisions, since it was now revoked by the following brief, in which its pernicious tendency is acknowledged.

"The King to the Sheriffs of London, greeting. "Although we lately commanded you, that in each "place in the foresaid city, where it should seem to "you to be the best expedient, ye shall cause it to "be publicly proclaimed, that oxen, cows, hogs, "sheep, geese, capons, hens, chickens, pigeons, and "eggs, should be sold at a certain price; because "nevertheless we have understood, that such a proclamation, which at that time we believed would "be for the profit of the people of our realm, redounds to their greater damage than profit; we "command you, that in the said several places ye "cause publicly to be proclaimed, that oxen, cows, "hogs, sheep, geese, capons, hens, chickens, young "pigeons, and eggs, be sold for a reasonable price, "as was accustomed to be done, before the said former proclamation; certifying all and singular, that "the former proclamation was not made by virtue of "the ordinances late made by the prelates, earls, "and barons, and nobles of the same realm, and by "us accepted, nor was contained in them.

"Witness myself at Lincoln, the twentieth of "February, in the ninth year of our reign."

King Henry III. having cast up a mud wall without the Tower of London, and within the wall of the city, the Londoners, without applying to the crown for the removal of what they considered an encroachment, assembled and destroyed it, in this year: but they smarted for their indiscretion; for, in the following year, the king compelled them to pay one thousand marks under the name of a fine. At the same time they were indulged with a new privilege, which empowered the freeholders in London to recover their rents by a writ of *gavelet*, by which the tenant is summoned to show cause why the lord of the rent should not repossess his land for default of payment.

According to Stow, the price of wheat, which had been as high as four pounds per quarter, was, in 1317, through a very early and good harvest, brought down to six shillings and eight-pence per quarter. Mr. Maitland accounts for this great difference by the "prodigious number of mouths swept away by the famine, whereby the consumption was vastly lessened:" but it is very probable there were other causes besides this, though they cannot now be ascertained.

About this time the countenance shown to the magistrates of the city by the court, to whom they were entirely devoted, was such, that, regardless of the rights of their fellow-citizens, they assumed the sole appointment of officers, and continued the mayor, John Wingrave, in his office, for three years. At the same time they laid arbitrary taxes on the inhabitants, favouring themselves in all assessments, and oppressed the commonalty grievously.

At length the freemen, who had frequently complained to the judges itinerant at the Tower, without redress, proceeded with such resolution, that their oppressors were compelled to accede to the following constitutions, and to join them in obtaining a royal confirmation of them.

For the Citizens of London, concerning new Articles then made to be observed.

"The King, to all whom, &c. greeting.

"Know ye, that whereas our beloved and faithful "the mayor and aldermen, and other citizens of our "city of London, had lately ordained and appointed "among themselves, for the bettering of the same "city, and for the common benefit of such as dwell "in that city, and resort to the same, certain things "to be in the same city perpetually observed and had, "instantly beseeched, that we would take care to "accept and confirm the same.

"We having seen certain letters, patentwise, "signed with the common seal of that city, and the "seal of the office of the mayoralty of that city, "upon the premises, and to us exhibited, have "caused certain articles to be chosen out of the "aforesaid letters, and caused them in some things "to be corrected, as they are underneath inserted, viz.

"1. That the mayor and sheriffs of the same city "be elected by the citizens of the said city, according to the tenor of the charters of our progenitors, "heretofore kings of England, made to them thence "and no otherwise.

"2. That the mayor remain only one year together in his mayoralty.

"3. That the sheriffs have but two clerks and "two serjeants; and that they take such for which "they will answer.

"4. That the mayor have no other office belonging to the city, but the office of mayoralty; "nor to draw to himself the sheriffs plea in the "chamber of London, nor hold other pleas than "those the mayor, according to ancient custom, "ought to hold.

"5. That the aldermen be removed from year to "year, on St. Gregory's day, and not re-elected; "and others chosen by the same wards.

"6. That tallages or aids henceforth to be "assessed for the king's business, or for the state "and benefit of the city, after they shall be "assessed by the men of the wards elected and "deputed for this, be not increased or heightened but by the common consent of the mayor "and commonalty. And that the money coming "from these tallages and aids be delivered into "the custody of four honest men, commoners of "the city, to be chosen by the commonalty, to "be further delivered by the testimony of the "said four men; so that they may inform the commonalty to what profit, and for what uses, those "monies go.

" 7. That no stranger be admitted into the free-" dom of the city in the husting; and that no in-" habitant, and especially English merchant, of some " mystery or trade, be admitted into the freedom of " the city, unless by surety of six honest and suf-" ficient men of that mystery or trade he shall be of, " who is so to be admitted into the freedom; which " six men may undertake for him, of keeping the " city indemnified in that behalf. And that the " same form of surety be observed of strangers to be " admitted into the freedom in the husting, if they " be of any certain mystery or trade. And if they " are not of some certain mystery, then that they be " not admitted into the freedom, without the assent " of the commonalty. And that they who have " been taken into the freedom of the city (since we " undertook the government of our realm) contrary " to the forms prescribed; and they who have gone " contrary to their oath in this behalf, or contrary to " the state of the city and are thereof lawfully con-" victed, lose the freedom of the said city.

" Saving always, that concerning apprentices the " ancient manner and form of the said city be " observed.

" 8. That each year in the same city, as often as " need shall be, inquiry be made, if any of the free-" dom of the same city exercise merchandizes in " the city, of the goods of others not of the " same freedom, by calling those goods their own, " contrary to their oath, and contrary to the " freedom of the said city; and they that are law-" fully convicted thereof, to lose the freedom of the " said city.

" 9. That all and every one being in the liberty " of the said city, and that would enjoy the " liberties and free customs of the said city, be " in lot and scot, and partake of all burthens for

" maintaining the state of the said city, and the " freedom thereof, according to the oath they " have taken, when they were admitted into " their freedom; and whoso will not, to lose his " freedom.

" 10. And that all and every one, being of the " freedom of the city, and living without the city, " and that either by themselves, or by their servants, " exercise their merchandizes within the city, be in " lot and scot with the commoners of the said city, " for their merchandizes, or else to be removed from " their freedom.

" 11. And that the common seal of the city remain in the custody of two aldermen and two " others, commoners, to be chosen for this purpose " by the commoners; and that that seal be not denied, neither to poor nor rich commoners, when " they shall need it; yet so that they reasonably " prove the cause of their demand: And that, for " the putting to of the seal, nothing be taken. And " that the giving of judgments in the courts of the " city, and especially after the verdicts of inquisition " taken, in cases where inquisitions have been taken, " be not deferred, unless difficulty intervene. And " if difficulty intervene by reason of this, giving " judgment shall not be put off beyond the third " court.

" 12. That weights and scales of merchandizes " to be weighed between merchants and merchants, " the issues coming of which belong to the commonalty of the said city, remain in the custody " of honest and sufficient men of the same city, " expert in that office, and as yet to be chosen " by the commonalty, to be kept at the will of " the same commonalty; and that they be by no " means committed to others than those so to be " chosen.

" 13.

" 13. That the sheriffs, for the time being, commit toll, and other customs belonging to their " farm, and other public offices belonging to them, " and to be exercised by others, to sufficient men, " for whom they will answer, and not commit " them to others. And if any deputed by the said " sheriffs to any of the aforesaid officers, take undue " custom, or carry himself otherwise in that office " than he ought, and is thereupon convicted at " the suit of the complainant, let him be removed " from that office, and punished according to his " demerits.

" 14. Merchants, who are not of the freedom of " the city, not to sell, by retail, wines or other wares, " within the city or suburbs.

" 15. That there be no brokers hereafter in the " city of any merchandizes, unless elected to this by " merchants of the mysteries, in which the brokers " themselves may have to exercise their offices; " and at least of this to make oath before the " mayor.

" 16. That the common harbourers in the city " and suburbs, although they are not of the freedom of the same, be partakers of the contingent " burdens for maintaining the said city, according " to the state of it, as long as they shall be so " common harbourers, as other like dwellers in the " city and suburbs shall partake, on the account of " those dwellings. Saving always, that the merchants of Gascoign, and other foreigners, may, " one with another, inhabit and be harboured in " the said city, as hitherto they have accustomed " to do.

" 17. That the keeping the bridge of the said city, " and the rents and profits belonging to that bridge, " be committed to be kept to two honest and sufficient men of the city, other than the aldermen,

" to be chosen to this by the commonalty, at the " will of the said commonalty, and not to others; " and who may answer thereupon to the said commonalty.

" 18. That no serjeant of the chamber of Guyhald " take fee of the commonalty of the city, or do execution, unless one chosen for this by the commonalty of the city: and that the chamberlain, common clerk, and common serjeant, be chosen by " the commonalty of the city, and be removed according to the will of the same city.

" 19. And that the mayor and recorder, and the " aforesaid chamberlain and common clerk, be content with their fees anciently appointed and paid " on account of their offices, and take not other fees " for the abovesaid offices.

" 20. That the goods of the aldermen in aids, " tallages, and other contributions, concerning the " said city, be taxed by the men of the wards in " which those aldermen abide, as the goods of other " citizens, by the said wards.

" Which articles, as they are above expressed, and " the matters contained in the same, we accept, " approve, and ratify; and we yield and grant " them, for us and our heirs, as much as in us " is, to the aforesaid citizens, their heirs and successors in the aforesaid city and suburbs, for the " common profit of those that inhabit therein, and " resort thither, to obtain the same, and to be observed perpetually.

" Moreover, we, willing to show ampler grace to " the mayor, aldermen, and citizens, at their request, " have granted to them, for us and our heirs, that " the mayor, aldermen, citizens, and commonalty of " the commoners of the city, and their heirs and " successors, for the necessities and profits of the " same city, may, among themselves, of their "common assent, assess tallages upon their own "goods within that city, as well upon the rents as "other things; and as well upon the mysteries as "any other way, as they shall see expedient, and "levy them, without incurring the danger of us or "our heirs, or our ministers whomsoever. And "that the money from such tallages remain in the "custody of four honest and lawful men of the said "city, to be chosen to this by the commonalty, and "be laid out, of their custody, for the necessities and "profits of the said city, and not otherwise. In "witness whereof, &c.

"Witness the king at York, the eighth day of "June."

It is worthy of remark, that the articles above recited were afterwards added to the charters of the city, and confirmed by the parliament, in the seventh year of the reign of Richard II.

In this year the king summoned a parliament to meet him at York, and directed his writ to the sheriffs of London, to chuse two of their fellow-citizens to represent the city in the great council of the nation: but we find from the return to the writ, which is made in the name of the mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and whole community, and is dated at London, the sixteenth day of October, in the twelfth year of the reign, that they chose three representatives, to whom or to any two of them, they gave full power to do what should be ordained in the said parliament, by common advice.

The populousness and riches of London, may be judged of from an act passed in this parliament regulating the number of men to be furnished by each city, against the Scots, by which London was ordered to provide two hundred men, being five times the number sent by any other city. We learn, from Madox's History of the Exchequer, that a complaint was made, in 1318, to the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer, by the pope's nuncio, of divers outrages, robberies, and murders, committed within the city, particularly of an insult offered to a Lombard and others, in St. Paul's church, at evening prayer, on Midsummer day, by four or five hundred armed people; upon which, the mayor and aldermen, being ordered to attend the treasurer, barons, and council, were severely reprimanded, and ordered, upon pain of forfeiting the city charter, to inquire into the said riot, and to bring the ringleaders to exemplary punishment, which they punctually obeyed.

According to Stow, the continual broils between the freemen and magistrates were not allayed by their late agreement; for, in 1319, the following presentment was made to the judges itinerant, by the jury of Aldermanbury, in which they state:

"That the commonalty of London is and ought to "be common, and that the citizens are not bound "to be taxed without the special command of the "king, or without their common consent; that the "mayors of the city, and the custodes in their times, "after the common redemption made and paid for "the city of London (of which payment the commons could never be certified, that might be Anno "1296, 24 Ed. IV. when the liberties of the city "were restored), have come, and by their own "authority, without the king's command, and commons consent, did tax the said city according to "their own wills once and more, and distrained for "those taxes, sparing the rich, and oppressing the "poor middle sort; nor permitting that the arrearages due from the rich be levied, *ad exhæredationem regis*, &c. to the disinheriting of the king,

" and the destruction of the city; nor can the commons know what becomes of the monies levied of " such taxes; and that this hath lasted from the " time of John Adrian, mair, *usque nunc.*"

They also complained that the mayor and aldermen had turned out common-council-men at their pleasure, and in particular one Walter Henry, because he would not permit the rich to levy tallages upon the poor, until their own arrears of former tallages were paid. These dissensions would, in all probability, have produced the usual forfeiture of the city charter, and the punishment of the offenders by fine and imprisonment, had not the king's affairs made it adviseable, at this juncture, to engage the affection and aid of the Londoners against the encroachments and treason of the barons. However, the late lord-mayor, Sir John Gisors, and some others of the principal citizens, being summoned to appear before the judges, to answer the accusations laid against them, conscious of their own guilt, fled from justice, in 1321, and sheltered themselves under the iniquity of the times.

The king having resigned the government entirely to the direction of his favourites, the two Spencers, father and son, the barons resented his unmanly conduct so highly, that a parliament was summoned on the occasion, to meet at London, to which the nobility repaired with such a train of armed men, that their attendants, who took up their quarters in the suburbs, equalled in number a very considerable army.

Hereupon, the magistrates thought it prudent to guard against any unexpected attack, by appointing a guard of a thousand citizens, who, being completely armed, watched the gates and walls of the city, from four o'clock in the morning till six in the evening, when they were relieved by the same number, who kept watch during the night.

Besides these, two aldermen, with a proper number of attendants, patrolled the streets during the whole night, to keep the watch to their duty; and the gates of the city, which were shut at nine o'clock at night, were not opened till the next morning at seven.

By this good conduct the peace of the city was preserved, till the king gave permission to the Londoners to receive the barons and their army within the walls: and in a short time afterwards an act of parliament was passed, and signed by the king, by which the Spencers were doomed to perpetual banishment.

This careful conduct of the citizens impressed the king with very great confidence in their loyalty, which he had soon afterwards occasion to put to the proof; for the governor of the castle of Leeds, in Kent, having refused a lodging in that castle to the queen, his majesty raised a considerable army, which consisted chiefly of Londoners, with whom he marched and summoned the castle to surrender; but the governor, persisting in its defence, he besieged it in form, and it was obliged to surrender at discretion.

In return for this service, the king immediately granted the citizens the following charter.

" Edward, by the grace of God, King of England,
" Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitain; to all to
" whom these present letters shall come greeting:

" Know ye, that whereas, the mayor and the
" good men of the city of London have of late thank-
" fully done us aid of armed footmen at our castle of
" Leeds, in our county of Kent; and also aid of like
" armed men now going with us through divers
" parts

" parts of our realm for divers causes: we, willing " to provide for the indemnity of the said mayor and " men of our city of London in this behalf, have " granted to them for us and our heirs, that the said " aids, to us so thankfully done, shall not be prejudicial to the said mayor and good men, their heirs " and successors; nor shall they be drawn into consequent for time to come. In witness whereof we " have caused these our letters to be made patent.

" Witness myself at Aldermanston, the twelfth
" day of December, in the fifteenth year of our
" reign."

Soon after receiving this charter, the citizens made the king a present of two thousand marks, towards defraying the expenses of the war with Scotland.

From Madox's History of the Exchequer*, we learn, that in this year, the king directed the sheriffs of London and Middlesex to buy, provide, and send into the Tower of London, two hundred quarters of wheat, one hundred quarters of beans, three hundred quarters of oats, one hundred quarters of big salt, twenty-four oxen, and one hundred and twenty hogs in bacon flitches, as and for the stores of the said Tower. This shows that those sheriffs, as well as the like officers in other counties, were then the king's agents, and receivers of the crown rents.

The good understanding between the court and city was not, however, of long continuance, for the barons being defeated, and the Earl of Lancaster beheaded, the king took advantage of the dissensions which still continued among the citizens on account of the late presentment to the justices itinerant, which he made a pretext for seizing the city liberties, by which means he obtained another sum of two thousand marks for their redemption, which were paid in the year 1322.

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* Chap. X. p. 262.

The sentence of banishment against the Spencers was soon reversed; whereupon they presented a petition to the king, setting forth the damages they had sustained; and by this petition it appeared that the real estate of the elder Spencer (if the authority of our ancient writers may be relied on) consisted of "Sixty-three manors, and his personal, of two crops of corn, one in barns, and the other upon the ground; in cash, jewels, silver and golden utensils, &c. ten thousand pounds; armour for two hundred men, warlike engines, and the destruction of his houses, thirty thousand pounds; the furniture of his chapel and wardrobe, five thousand pounds; twenty-eight thousand sheep; one thousand oxen and heifers; one thousand two hundred cows, with their calves for two years; forty mares, with their foals for two years; five hundred and sixty cart horses; two thousand hogs; four hundred kids; forty tons of wine; six hundred bacons; eighty carcases of beef; six hundred muttons in larder; ten tons of cyder, and thirty-six sacks of wool; with a library of books."

The favourites being again re-established in the king's favour, the queen fled to France, and refused to return till they were dismissed from the royal presence. This rendered her popular in England, and she soon found herself at the head of a considerable army, with which she landed in Suffolk on the 26th of September, 1326. The king receiving advice of the queen's proceedings, in defiance of the charter he had so lately granted, compelled the citizens of London to supply him with an hundred men at arms, to be maintained at their own expense, and to march wherever they were commanded. He also demanded a sum of money.

To this demand the Londoners, hearing that the queen was landed, replied, "That they would at all times revere their sovereign lord the king, the queen, and the prince their son, the indubitable heir of the crown; and shut their gates against, and, to the utmost of their power, resist all foreigners and traitors: but that they were not willing to march out to fight; unless, according to their ancient privileges, they could return home the same day before sun-set."

The king being provoked with this answer, committed the custody of the city to Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter; and, having placed his son, John of Eltham, in the Tower, departed to the west to raise an army.

Soon after the king's departure, the mayor and citizens received two letters from the queen, exhorting them to lend their assistance against the oppressors of the nation. To the first of these letters they returned no answer, but the second was put upon the cross in West-cheap, and many copies of it fixed up in other places; upon which the bishop demanded the keys of the city from the mayor, but the populace, suspecting a secret collusion between them, seized the mayor, whom they would have put to death, had he not sworn to obey their orders, and entered into a solemn agreement to destroy the enemies of the queen, wherever they should be found.

The first victim of their fury was a domestic of the younger Spencer, whose head they cut off without ceremony. They then proceeded in search of the Bishop of Exeter, and gained admission to his palace by burning the gates, but missing him, they robbed it of the furniture, jewels, and plate. In the mean time, the prelate, endeavouring to take sanctuary in St. Paul's Church, was seized by the rabble at the north door of the cathedral, where they beat and bruised him in the most inhuman manner; they then dragged him to West-cheap, where, having first proclaimed him a traitor, they beheaded him, and two of his domestics, and buried their bodies among the rubbish of a tower which the bishop was building upon the banks of the Thames.

Next day, the mob having met with Sir John de Weston, constable of the Tower of London, obliged him to deliver up the keys and possession of that fortress to them. They discharged the state prisoners, and all the king's officers; appointed John of Eltham, the king's second son, guardian of the city and kingdom, with proper officers under him. Soon after Robert Baldock, the chancellor, to whom most of the miseries of the kingdom were imputed, being brought prisoner to London from Hereford, and lodged in the bishop's prison, the populace dragged him thence to Newgate, and beat him in the way so unmercifully, that he died of his bruises.

At length the queen's party were completely successful all over the kingdom: both the Spencers were hung, and the head of the younger sent up to London, where it was received with brutal triumph, and stuck upon the bridge. In the mean time the king, who had taken refuge in Wales, was discovered and conducted to the capital, amidst the insults and reproaches of the people, and was confined in the Tower. The parliament quickly voted his deposition, and his son Edward was chosen to succeed him, but, being only fourteen years of age, the queen was appointed regent during his minority. This happened in 1327.

During this reign, and particularly towards the end of it, the visible increase of gold and silver in England, and the evident decline of the feudal system, are strong proofs of the rising influence of commerce. In fact, scarcely a year passed over without producing some evidence of the increase of mercantile intercourse with the continent. In Madox's Firma Burgi *, we have a list of the merchants of foreign nations trading with England, in the year 1325, to whom King Edward II. and his father, had granted charters of privilege, viz. French, German, Spanish, Portuguese; those of Navarre, Lombardy, Tuscany, Catalonia, Provence, and our dutchy of Aquitaine; of Thoulouse, Flanders, Brabant, and other foreign parts. But as yet there is no mention of the nations north of Germany. It may also be inferred from this king's declarations of war against France and its territories, in which there was usually an exception of the Flemings, although Flanders was deemed a part of the French monarchy, or under vassalage to France, that the great importance of commerce to England began to be felt about this time.

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* Chap. XI. Sect. 4.

CHAP. XII.

CHAP. XII.

King Edward's First Charter of Confirmation.—Second Charter, relative to Southwark.—Riots.—King's Letter thereon.—-Value of Lands.—-Merchant Strangers.-—Wealth of the Lombards.—Tournament in Cheapside.—Amount of the Customs of the Port of London.—Maritime Strength.—High Price of Provisions.—Act for the Relief of Foreign Merchants.—Edward's Third Charter.—Ships and Goods Pressed for the King's Service.—The City Fortified against a French Fleet.—-General Assessment.—-Quarrel between the Fishmongers and Skinners. Refusal to attend the Itinerant Judges at the Tower.—Fourth Charter.—Singular Canon. The Citizens refuse the Order of Knighthood.—Foreign Weavers insulted.—Coinage of Gold.—Regulations respecting the Election of Mayor.—Compulsory Loans.—Early Toll.—Lepers removed —Pestilence.—Common Burial Grounds.—Regulations for exposing Woollen Goods to Sale.—Wool Staple at Westminster.—Fifth Charter.—Gold Maces.—Title of Lord *Mayor.—Entry of the Black Prince.—Naval Armament.—Slaughter Houses forbidden in London.—Plague.—Royal Visitors.—Ordinance respecting Landlords and Tenants.—Archery ordered to be practised.—First Fine for not serving the Office of Mayor.—Repeated Insults offered to Foreign Merchants.*

THE young king was received in London with every demonstration of joy, and shortly after his accession, with the consent of his parliament, granted the following charter:

" Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, " Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitain; To his " Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, " Justices, Sheriffs, Rulers, Ministers, and other his " Bailiffs and faithful Subjects, greeting.

" Know ye, that we for the bettering of our city " of London, and for the good and laudable service " which our beloved mayor, aldermen, and com" monalty of the said city heretofore have often done " to us and our progenitors, with the assent of the " aforesaid earls, barons, and all the commonalty of " our realm, being called to this our present parlia" ment at Westminster, have granted, and by this " our charter, for us and our heirs, confirmed to the " citizens of the aforesaid city, the liberties here un" derwritten, *to have and to hold*, to them and their " heirs and successors for ever.

" First, Whereas in the great charter of the liber" ties of England it is contained, that the city of " London have all their ancient liberties and cus" toms; and the same citizens, at the time of the " making of the charter, from the time of St. Edward " the King and Confessor, and William the Con" queror, and of other our progenitors, had divers " liberties and customs, as well by the charters of " those our progenitors, as without charter by ancient " custom, whereupon in divers the circuits, and other " the courts of our said progenitors, as well by judg" ments as by statutes, were invaded, and some of " them adjudged; we will and grant, for us and our " heirs, that they may have the liberties according " to the form of the above-said great charter; and " that impediments and usurpations to them in that " behalf made shall be revoked and annulled.

" We have further granted, for us and our heirs, " to the said citizens, their heirs and successors afore" said, that the mayor of the aforesaid city, which " for time shall be one of the justices to be assigned " of the gaol-delivery of Newgate, and be named in " every commission thereof to be made; and that " the said citizens may have infangtheft and outfang" theft, and chattels of felons, of all those which

" shall be adjudged before them within the liberties " of the same city, and of all being of the liberty " aforesaid, at the aforesaid gaol to be adjudged.

" And whereas also, by the charters of our progenitors, it was granted to the same citizens, that " they should hold the sheriffwicks of London and " Middlesex, for three hundred pounds yearly, to be " paid at our Exchequer, and they are charged with " the payment of four hundred pounds yearly, every " year to be paid at our Exchequer, for the sheriffwicks, contrary to the form of the said charters: " We will and grant, for us and our heirs, that the " said citizens, their heirs and successors, may henceforth the aforesaid sheriffwicks hold for three " hundred pounds yearly, to be yearly paid at our " Exchequer, according to the tenor of the aforesaid " charters; and that they may be from henceforth " acquitted of the said hundred pounds.

" Furthermore, we have granted, for us and our " heirs, to the said citizens, that their heirs and " successors may bequeath their tenements within " the liberties of the aforesaid city, as well in mortmain as in other manner, as of ancient time they " have been accustomed to do.

" And whereas in a certain charter of the Lord " Edward, late King of England, our father, to the " said citizens made (amongst other things) it is contained, that the Sheriffs of the said city, as often " as they shall happen to be amerced for any offence " in the court, shall be amerced according to the " measure and quantity of their offence, as other the " sheriffs of our realm were wont to be amerced for " like offences; and the sheriffs of the aforesaid city, " after the making of that charter, were otherwise " amerced for the escape of thieves, than other " sheriffs were on this side Trent for such-like escapes, " are amerced only, as it is said, one hundred shillings.

" We will and grant, for us and our heirs, that " the sheriffs of the same city, which for the time " shall be in no wise amerced or charged for the " escape of thieves, in any otherwise than as other " the sheriffs on this side Trent; and that the aforesaid citizens shall not be charged for the custody of " those that fly to the churches within the aforesaid " liberty, for to have immunities, otherwise than of " old hath been accustomed to be charged; any " thing in the last circuit at the Tower of London " made or adjudged notwithstanding.

" And that the said citizens may remove and take " away all the wares in the waters of Thames and " Medway, and may have the punishments thereof " to us belonging.

" Also we will and command streightly, that all " merchant strangers, coming to England, shall sell " their wares and merchandizes within forty days " after their coming thither; and shall continue and " board with free hosts of the said city, and other " cities and towns in England, without any households " or societies by them to be kept.

" And also we will and grant, for us and our heirs, " that the marshal, steward or clerk of the market of " our household, may not sit from henceforth within " the liberty of the aforesaid city, nor exercise any " offence there, nor any way draw any citizen of the " said city to plead without the liberties of the said " city, of any thing that happen within the liberties " of the same; and that no escheator, or other officers may, from henceforth, exercise the office of " the escheator within the liberties of the said city: " but that the mayor of the said city for the time " being may do the office of the escheator within " the said liberty; so as always he take his oath that " he exercise the said office, and that he answer " thereof to us and our heirs, as he ought to do.

"And that the said citizens, from henceforth, shall "not be compelled to go or send to war out of the "said city. And that the constable of the Tower of "London for the time being shall not make any "prizes, by land or by water, of victual or other "thing whatsoever, of the men of the said city, nor "of any other coming towards the said city, or going "thence; neither shall or may arrest, or cause to be "arrested, the ships or boats bringing victuals, or "other such-like goods, to or from the said city.

"And forasmuch as the citizens, in all good fairs "of England, were wont to have among themselves "keepers to hold the pleas, touching the citizens of the said city assembling at the said fairs: "We will and grant, as much as in us is, that the "same citizens may have such-like keepers, to "hold such pleas of their covenants, as of ancient "time they had, except the pleas of land and of the "crown.

"Furthermore, we grant, for us and our heirs, that "the sheriffs of the said city, for the time being, "shall not be compelled to take any oath at our "Exchequer, but upon the yielding up of their accounts. Also, whereas, the said citizens, in the "circuit of Henry Stanton, and his fellow-justices of "the Lord Edward, late King of England, our "father's last circuit at the Tower of London, were "compelled, contrary to their ancient customs, to "claim their liberties and free customs, and thereupon did claim divers liberties, by the charters of "our said progenitors, and of other their liberties and "free customs, of old use and custom; which said "claims do, as yet, hang before us undecided.

"We will and grant, for us and our heirs, that the "same citizens, their heirs and successors, may "have the liberties and free customs, and may use "them, as of old time they were wont; and that they "may record their said liberties and free customs "before us, our justices, and other ministers whatsoever, in such sort as they were wont to do before "the said circuit; notwithstanding that the said "citizens in the said circuit were impeached upon "some like record and liberties and free customs "aforesaid; and also, notwithstanding any statutes "or judgments made or published to the contrary, "and that to the allowance of their charters to be had "before us in our Exchequer, and other pleas whatsoever, one writ shall suffice in all pleas for every "king's time. And that no summons, attachments, "or executions, be made by any of the officers whatsoever of us or our heirs, by writ, or without writ, "within the liberty of the said city; but only by the "ministers of the said city. And that the sheriffs of "the same city (which shall be towards the aid of "the fame of that city) may lawfully have the forfeitures of victuals, and other things and merchandizes, according to the tenor of the charter thereof "made to the said citizens, and shall not be debarred thereof hereafter, contrary to the tenor of "the same charter.

"And that the same citizens, in the circuits of the "justices, from henceforth sitting at the Tower of "London, shall be guided by the same laws and "customs, whereby they were guided in the circuits "holden in the time of Lord John and Henry, sometime kings of England, and other our progenitors; "and if any thing in the last circuit was done or "attempted, contrary to their liberties and free "customs, we will not that they be prejudicial to "them, but that they may be guided as of old time "they were.

"We have also granted, for us and our heirs, that "the same citizens, from henceforth, in and towards "subsidies, grants, and contributions, whatsoever, to

" be made to the use of us or our heirs, shall be taxed and contributory with the commonalty of our " realm, as common persons, and not as men of the " city. And that they be quit of all other tallages. " And that the liberties of the said city shall not be " taken into the hands of us or our heirs, for any personal trespass, or judgment of any minister of the " said city. Neither shall a keeper in the said city " for that occasion be deputed; but the same " minister shall be punished according to the quality " of his offence.

" And that no purveyor and taker, officer and " other minister of us or our heirs, or of any other, " shall make any prices in the said city, or without, " of the goods of the citizens of the same city, contrary to their will and pleasure, unless immediately " they make due payment for the same, or else may " have respite thereof, with the good-will of the " seller. And that no price be made of the wines of " those citizens, by any the officers of us or our " heirs, or otherwise against their wills; that is to " say, of one tun before the mast, and another behind " it, nor by any other means; but shall be quit thereof for ever.

" Furthermore, we forbid, that any officer of us or " our heirs shall merchandize by himself or others " within the said city, or without, of any thing " their offices.

" Also we grant, that the lands and tenements " (lying without) of the said citizens, which have " been, or hereafter shall be, ministers of the said " city, be bound to keep the said city harmless " against us and our heirs, of those things which concern their offices, as their tenements be within the " said city; and that no market from henceforth " shall be granted by us or our heirs, to any within " seven miles in circuit of the said city. And "that all inquisitions, from henceforth to be "taken by our justices or ministers of the said "city, shall be taken in St. Martin's (le-Grand), "in London, and not elsewhere; except the inquisitions to be taken in the circuits at the Tower of "London, and for the gaol-delivery at Newgate; "and that none of the freemen of the said city shall "be impleaded or troubled at our Exchequer, or elsewhere by bill, except it be by those things which "touch us or our heirs.

"Wherefore we will and streightly command, for "us and our heirs, that the said citizens, their heirs "and successors, have all their liberties and free "customs, and the same may use and enjoy for "ever, in form aforesaid.

"These being witnesses, W. Archbishop of Canterbury, J. Bishop of Ely, our Chancellor, and "others. Given at Westminster, the sixth day of "March, in the first year of our reign."

By this charter all the ancient rights and immunities of the citizens are confirmed, and a grant is made of the following additional privileges, viz. The mayor of London to be one of the judges to sit on the trial of prisoners confined in Newgate: the citizens to enjoy the right of *infang-theft*, that is the privilege of trying a thief or robber, apprehended within the jurisdiction of the city; and of *outfang-theft*, which is the liberty of reclaiming a citizen taken in any other place, in order to bring him to his trial within the city: a right to the goods and chattels of all felons convicted within the jurisdiction of the city: a remission of one hundred pounds a year, which had been formerly illegally extorted from the city for the fee-farm rent of the county of Middlesex, in violation of ancient charters: the privilege of devising lands in mortmain: the sheriffs of London and Middlesex to be amerced no otherwise than other sheriffs south of the river Trent: foreign merchants obliged to sell their merchandize within forty days, to prevent an advance in the prices: the citizens not to be chargeable with the custody of such as take sanctuary: an exemption from the authority of the king's marshal, steward, and clerk of the household: the mayor of London made perpetual escheator: permission for the Londoners to hold a court of pye-powder, in all country fairs: the citizens exempted from all tallages, except being assessed in common with their fellow subjects: the liberties of the city not to be seized for a personal offence, or iniquitous judgment of any of its magistrates: none of the king's purveyors to rate any sort of goods belonging to the citizens, or to deal in any kind of merchandize within the city: and, lastly, that no market be held within seven miles of London.

The court having often taken advantage of the want of an active police in the city, and Southwark being considered the receptacle and refuge of the malefactors, and disturbers of the peace, the citizens thought this a favourable opportunity to apply to the new king, and parliament, for a grant of that village, which was given to them by the following charter, of the same date as the first.

"Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, "Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitain; to all to "whom these present letters shall come, greeting.

"Know ye, that whereas our well-beloved, the "citizens of the city of London, by their petition ex"hibited before us and our council, in our present "parliament at Westminster assembled, have given "us to understand, that felons, thieves, and other "malefactors, and disturbers of the peace, who, in "the said city and elsewhere, have committed man-

"slaughters, robberies, and divers other felonies, "privily departing from the said city, after those "felonies committed, into the village of Southwark, "where they cannot be attached by the ministers of "the said city, and there are openly received: and "so for default of due punishment are more bold to "commit such felonies: and they have beseeched "us, that, for the confirmation of our peace within "the said city, bridling the naughtiness of the said "malefactors, we would grant unto them the said "village, to have to them, their heirs and successors, for ever, for the farm and rent therefore "yearly due to us, to be yearly paid at our Exchequer: We, having consideration to the premises, "with the assent of the prelates, earls, barons, and "commonalty, being in our present parliament aforesaid, have granted, for us and our heirs, to the "said citizens, the said village of Southwark, with "the appurtenances, to have and to hold, to them "and their heirs and successors, citizens of the said "city, of us and our heirs for ever, to pay to us by "the year, at the Exchequer of us and our heirs for "ever, at the accustomed times, the farms therefore "due and accustomed; In witness whereof, we have "caused these our letters to be made patent.

"Witness myself at Westminster, the sixth day of "March, in the first year of our reign."

This great addition to the power and jurisdiction of the citizens, did not, however, produce the expected good effect in restraining the evil practices of the dissolute, for a very dangerous riot broke out in the following year, which was commenced by a number of people of various professions, who, being joined by an execrable rabble, armed with swords and bucklers, rambled about the streets, beating, maiming, and sometimes even killing those they met with.

These outrages produced an order from the king to the mayor, and other city officers, to apprehend and prosecute all rioters, &c. with the utmost severity; but this proving ineffectual, his majesty sent the following letter:

"The King to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, "greeting.

"Whereas it is given us to understand, that very "many evil doers, and disturbers of our peace, have "made divers riots, confederacies, and unlawful "conventicles, within the aforesaid city, and suburbs "thereof, since we have taken the government of our "realm, and do wander about and run here and "there, beating, wounding, and misusing the people, and wickedly killing some of them, and spoiling others of their goods and possessions; and "taking and imprisoning others; as well of the city "and suburbs, as those that come to the said city "and suburbs about their business, and detaining "them in prison, until they have made them give "fines and redemptions; and committing other misdemeanors, and not desisting daily to commit them, "to the breach of our peace, and the terror of our "people in those parts, and manifestly tending to "commotion: We, willing to have such malefactors "punished, and the tranquillity of our people inviolably kept, as we are bound to do by our oath, "command you, that by the oath of honest men, in "your bailiffwick, ye diligently enquire of the names "of the aforesaid malefactors, and of them that "knowingly receive and maintain them, and find "out the truth concerning other articles, more fully "touching the premises. And all those, whom "thereupon it shall happen to be judged, and all "those whom ye shall find doing such things, as are "premised, ye cause, without delay, to be taken, "and to be safely kept in our prison, until ye shall "have farther command from us thereupon: and "that ye so behave yourselves in this behalf, that the "damages and lewdnesses aforesaid, may not happen there any more: whereby we might take "heavily of you, as of them to whom we have committed the custody of the said city, under the danger that is incumbent. In witness whereof, &c."

In obedience to this command, the mayor and sheriffs immediately apprehended a considerable number of the offenders; upon which the king directed the following special commission to the judges, mayor, &c. for the speedy prosecution of the delinquents.

"To Oliver de Ingham, John Matravers, John "de Stoner, Robert de Mabbethorpe, and John de "Grantham; to the mayor, &c.

"Forasmuch as our city of London is our chamber; and, on that account, the men of the said "city of London are more firmly obliged to the defence of our person, and conservation of our rights; "we more heavily bearing the premises, and willing "that they be punished, as it is fit, have commanded you our said mayor and sheriffs of London, that "ye shall enquire diligently of the premises, and "should take those whom ye should find culpable "by the same inquisition, and keep them safe, until "ye should have some further command thereupon "from us. And because the premises do specially "touch us, and the state of our crown, willing to "determine the said inquisitions, and all other things "touching the premises, according to the exigence of "law, we have assigned you our justices to hear "and determine the inquisitions and indictments "made by the same inquisitions, &c."

According to Bishop Fleetwood's Chronicon Preciosum, eighty acres of arable land were, at this time, worth twenty shillings per annum, or threepence per acre. Meadow land was let at four-pence, and pasture at one penny per acre. This is corroborated by what James Howel says in his Londinopolis, that, in the first year of Edward III. "John of Oxford, a vintner of London, and afterwards lord mayor, gave to the Priory of the Holy Trinity, in London, two tofts of land, one mill, fifty acres of land, and two acres of wood, with the appurtenances in Kentish Town, in value twenty shillings and three-pence by the year."

From the Fœdera, Vol. IV. p. 361, we find that in the second year of his reign, Edward III. confirmed the charter of privileges granted by his grandfather to foreign merchants, as also the additional duties and customs they were bound to pay, in consideration of those privileges. This appears to have arisen from an act of parliament, passed shortly before, by which it is enacted that *all* merchant-strangers, and privy, may go and come into England, after the tenor of the great charter.

In p. 387 of the same volume, is a deed or instrument of the king, dated in 1329, by which it appears that he had borrowed five thousand marks of the Lombards, and also acknowledged a former debt of seven thousand marks; from which the great wealth of these merchants, who were enabled to supply the wants of the state, is evident.

Several ambassadors from foreign nations being arrived in England, the king, in this year, ordered a solemn tournament of thirteen knights on a side, to be performed in Cheapside, for the entertainment of his illustrious visitors. On which occasion, the streets were covered with sand to prevent the horses from slipping, and a grand scaffold, in the form of a tower, was erected for the accommodation of the queen and the ladies of her court; which, during the exhibition, fell suddenly to the ground, but, happily, with no greater misfortune than putting the queen and the ladies into a terrible fright. The king, however, was so alarmed, that he would have punished the builder severely, had not his royal consort interceded, and obtained a pardon for him.

In the same year, the practice of adulterating the wines having been carried to a great height, so as to endanger the lives of his majesty's subjects, an order was issued to the mayor and sheriffs "publicly to proclaim and to prohibit, that none presume in any manner to mingle such wines, nor to sell any mixed, but good and pure. And to punish the offenders against this prohibition, by levying a forfeit upon them forthe king's use."

It appears, from the Cottoni Posthuma, p. 191, that the customs of the port of London, in the year 1331, amounted to about eight thousand pounds per annum, which, considering the low rate of duties at that period, is a proof of the city having had a considerable foreign commerce for those remote times.

The measures taken for the punishment of the desperate villains, who wounded, robbed, and murdered people in the streets, being found ineffectual to restrain these proceedings, a proclamation was issued by the king's command, strictly enjoining, that no person whatsoever presume to wear any coat of plate, or other weapon, in the city of London, or town of Westminster, or the suburbs thereof, on pain of forfeiting all his possessions.

A correct judgment may be formed of the maritime

time strength of most nations in those times, from the small size of the ships destined for warlike expeditions. We find, in the Fœdera,* under the date of 1335, a precept of King Edward III. directed to the mayor and sheriffs of London, "To take up all ships in their port, and all the other ports in the kingdom, of the burthen of forty tons, and upwards *(quadraginta dolia vini portantes)*, and to furnish the same with armed men, and other necessaries for war, against the Scots, his enemies, confederated with certain persons of foreign nations." by whom he means the French and Flemings.

In this year the citizens were not only in great want of corn, occasioned by a bad harvest, but were also oppressed by the high price of provisions, as well as by the practices of regrators and forestallers, and by defective weights and measures. Hereupon the king, with the advice of his council, sent a severe reprimand to the mayor and sheriffs, for having been so inattentive to the welfare of the city, as not to make a proper provision against a time of scarcity. He likewise upbraided them for the little regard they paid to their oaths, in permitting the sale of provisions at exorbitant rates, and allowing the use of false weights and measures to go unpunished.

His majesty also strictly enjoined the mayor and sheriffs to reform these abuses, and at the same time sent the following charge to the mayor:

"That your oath as mayor remain inviolable, do "you chastize and punish all from time to time who "act against right, and reform all other things which "you shall know to be repugnant to the good government of the said city and suburbs; that, by your "diligence exhibited in this behalf, the city may be

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* Vol. IV. p. 664.

"reduced to its due state, and excessive regrators "wholly taken away: and that you publicly proclaim all and singular the premises in the aforesaid city and suburbs, in the accustomed places: "but if they should not appoint a speedy remedy "for all these excesses, that then the grieved should "complain thereof to him and his council; and he, "in that defect, would cause a remedy to be applied to these excesses without delay."

The measures taken in pursuance of this command, added to the scarcity of money, occasioned by the large sums which had been levied for carrying on the war against the French and Scots, reduced provisions to the following low rates:

	S.	D.
The best wheat, the quarter, at - -	2	0
The best ox, at - - - -	6	8
The best sheep, at - - -	0	8
The best pigeons, six for - - -	0	1
The best goose, at - - -	0	2
The best pig, at - - - -	0	1

The cities and towns of England still continued to harrass and distress such foreigners as either lived among them, or came to trade with them; and in this they were justified by those monopolizing charters, which were, at that time, the great hinderances to the freedom and increase of commerce. To guard against this evil in time to come, the king caused an act of parliament to be passed in this year, in the preamble of which is recited the grievous damage done to him and his subjects by the people of his cities, &c. obstructing merchant-strangers in bringing in their goods, and selling them to any others but themselves; by reason whereof, the same are sold to the king, and to his people, more dear than they should or would be, if such merchant-strangers, and others, might freely sell them to whom they would. It then gives them permission to buy and sell in all places, inflicting penalties on those who give them any disturbance, and concludes thus: "And with regard to the franchises, or exclusive charters of cities and towns, &c. they are herein declared to be of no force, to endamage the king, or his prelates, earls, barons, and other great men, nor to the oppression of his commons."

But this well-judged law met with considerable opposition from the places possessed of these excluding privileges, and occasioned such discontent among the citizens of London, that, in 1337, the king, with the consent of his parliament, was induced to grant them a confirmation of their liberties and customs, especially in regard to merchant-strangers, as appears by the following charter:

"Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, "lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitain, to all to "whom these present letters shall come, greeting:

"Know ye, whereas, in our parliament at York, "holden the morrow after the ascension of our lord, "in the ninth year of our reign, it was enacted, That "all merchant-strangers and English-born, and every "of them of what estate or condition soever, who "would buy or sell corn, wine, powderable wares, "fish, or other victuals, wool, cloth, wares, or other "vendible things whatsoever, wheresoever they "were, either in cities, towns, boroughs, ports of "the sea, fairs, markets, or other places in the realm, "whether within liberties or without, might, without impediment, freely sell the same victuals or "wares to whom they pleased, as well to foreigners "as to English-born; the enemies to us and our "realm only excepted; notwithstanding the charters

" of liberties to any cities or places aforesaid granted to the contrary, or custom or judgment upon " the said charters, as in the aforesaid statute is " more plainly contained: yet, nevertheless, be- " cause in the statutes as well in our said parlia- " ment, as in other parliaments of our progenitors, " sometimes kings of England, made by us and our " progenitors, with the common consent of the pre- " lates, earls, barons, and commonalty of our realm, " it was granted and established, that the great " charter of the liberty of England, in all and sin- " gular its articles, should be maintained and firmly " observed. And in the same charter, amongst " other things it is contained, that the city of Lon- " don may have its ancient liberties and free-cus- " toms unhurt: and it hath been the intent and " meaning, as well of us as our progenitors, and yet " is, that the said great charter, in all the articles " thereof, may be still observed; and that by pre- " text of the said statute, or any other, nothing " shall be done to the prejudice or infringement of " the said charter, or of any article therein contain- " ed, or of the ancient liberties or customs of the " said city, may be unjustly burdened, touching " their said liberties and free customs, contrary to " such intent, with the consent of the prelates, earls, " and barons, assistant with us in this our parliament, " have granted, for us and our heirs, that the citi- " zens of the said city, their heirs and successors, " may have all their liberties and free-customs un- " hurt and whole, as before these times they more " freely had the same; the aforesaid statute for the " said merchants made to the hurt of the liberties " and customs of the said city notwithstanding. " In witness whereof we have caused these our let- " ters to be made patent.

"Witness myself at Westminster, the twenty-
"sixth day of March, in the eleventh year of
"our reign."

It is to be regretted that a fatal desire of territorial acquisitions diverted this king's attention from the peaceful arts of commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, the natural riches of a country. But glory was his predominating passion, and we find him in one year sacrificing to his ambition, that commerce, which in the preceding year, he had laboured to establish. Thus we learn from the Fœdera *, that, in 1338, the admirals, north and south of the Thames, were empowered to compel the service of all merchant vessels, for an expedition against France, which must have been extremely grievous to all concerned in the little commerce there then was in England. Besides which, he seized all the tin, as well belonging to foreigners, as to his own subjects; and ordered his wool-collectors to seize on as much wool, either from clergy or laity, as will make up a deficiency of seventeen thousand five hundred sacks, and to send it forthwith to Antwerp, where it found a ready sale, and enabled him to fulfil his engagements with his allies.

In the same volume †, we find a precept from the Prince of Wales, better known afterwards by the name of the Black Prince, who was left custos or guardian of the kingdom during his father's absence beyond sea, "to the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, forthwith to shut up or fortify their city next the Thames, with either stone or boards, against a French fleet of ships and gallies," which, it

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* Vol. V. pp. 21, 39, 53, 80.

† Page 86.

it seems, had already invaded the realm in divers places, " and also to drive piles into the Thames, quite across the river, for the same purpose; and all persons, as well religious as laity, who had any estate in London, were obliged forthwith to pay their contributions for this end."

In this year, the king's necessities obliged him also to borrow one thousand and forty-one marks of the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem, in Clerkenwell, near London.

In the following year the citizens of London advanced the king twenty thousand marks, upon the credit of a grant by parliament, which was raised by a general assessment upon each ward. This is the oldest general assessment of which a copy is preserved, and was in the following proportion.

THE ASSESSMENT.

	L.	S.	D.
Tower Ward, - -	365	0	0
Billingsgate Ward, - -	763	0	0
Bridge Ward, - -	765	6	8
Dowgate Ward, - -	660	10	0
Langburn Ward, - -	352	6	8
Walbroke Ward, - -	911	0	0
Bishopsgate Ward, - -	559	6	8
Lyme-street Ward, - -	110	0	0
Cornhill Ward, - -	315	0	0
Cheap Ward, - -	517	10	0
Broad-street Ward - -	588	0	0
Vintry Ward, - -	634	16	8
Bread-street Ward, - -	461	16	8
Queenhithe Ward, - -	435	13	4
Cordwayner-street Ward, -	2195	3	4
Faringdon Ward, within, -	730	16	8
Carried forward, £.	10,365	6	8

Faringdon

	L.	S.	D.
Brought forward,	10,365	6	8
Faringdon Ward, without, -	114	13	4
Cripplegate Ward, - -	462	10	0
Coleman-street Ward, - -	1051	16	8
Candlewick-street Ward, -	133	6	8
Aldgate Ward, - -	30	0	0
Portsoken Ward, - -	27	10	0
Castle Baynard's Ward, -	63	6	8
Bassishaw Ward, - -	79	13	4
Aldersgate Ward, - -	57	10	0
	£. 12,385	13	4

From this assessment it is evident that Stow, and his copyists, must have been in an error respecting the division of the ward of Faringdon, which, according to them, did not take place until the 17th of Richard II. fifty-five years after this transaction.

Maitland says, "It may be a matter of inquiry, how the city was by this assessment found divided into twenty-five wards, when we are certain there were no more than twenty-four in the year 1285; and that the division of Faringdon ward, into Faringdon within, and Faringdon without the walls, was not made till the seventeenth of Richard II. A. D. 1393, by order of parliament."

But if he had reverted to almost every old charter he has given, he would have found a continual repetition of the language of the one preceding, very frequently without any notice of it, which in all probability was the case in this instance. The act of the seventeenth of Richard II. may be considered as a confirmation of some former act, subsequent to 1285, which is now lost.

In consequence of the king's determination to cross the seas, we find an order issued, in this year, to the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of London, commanding them, at their peril, to exert themselves to the utmost of their power, for the good and quiet of the city, during his absence; and that, if they should apprehend any malefactors and disturbers of the said city, they should cause *due* and *speedy* punishment to be done upon them.

A quarrel happening soon after the king's departure between the fishmongers' and skinners' companies, both parties assembled in the streets, and a battle ensued, in which the combatants were headed by Thomas Haunsart and John le Brewere, two bold and desperate fellows; and the rioters resisting the power of the magistrates, who went to the place of riot, laying violent hands on Andrew Aubrey, the mayor, and grievously wounding one of the servants of the city in the execution of his office, the magistrates caused the said ringleaders to be apprehended, carried them directly to Guildhall, indicted and tried them before the mayor, &c. and, they having pleaded guilty, had them beheaded in Cheapside, then called West-cheap.

This checked the spirit of rioting for some time, and was so agreeable to the king, that, on the fourth of June following, his Majesty issued the following patent, in justification and commendation of it.

" We considering, if so great rashness of the
" aforesaid Thomas and John had been passed over
" unpunished, it had yielded boldness to others of
" doing the like things; and so thinking the said
" punishment very seasonable for the conservation
" of our peace, and to be well done; and willing,
" by the consideration aforesaid, that the said
" mayor, sheriffs, aldermen and commonalty be
" secure; and to provide that they may not be
" troubled,

" troubled, by reason hereof, in future times; what " hath been done by the mayor, sheriffs, &c. as " much as belongs to us, we approve and confirm. " So that they may not hereafter be sued, either by " ourselves, our heirs, successors, or our justices, " on occasion of these deaths. *Teste rege, apud* " *Turrim Lond.* 4 *Jun.*"

In 1341, the itinerant judges were ordered to repair to the Tower of London to make inquisition, as in other places, into the management of those who had been the king's collectors in the city. But the citizens, apprehending that this was contrary to their liberties, rights, and privileges, refused to obey the summons to attend the said judges; and the populace became so very tumultuous, that the judges adjourned the session until after Easter.

The king, who was highly displeased with the behaviour both of his judges and citizens, ordered strict search to be made after all persons who had behaved themselves in a tumultuous manner; but, being informed that they had been actuated by no other motive than a fixed resolution of maintaining their rights, he gave them a general pardon; and the judges broke up the sittings, without resolving upon any thing.

In the year 1342, there was a general *inspeximus* of the charters of Henry III. relative to the mayoralty and sheriffwick of London, and of the articles made and concluded between the magistrates and commonalty, in the reign of King Edward II. which concludes with this singular and interesting clause:

" Moreover we, being willing to show more " abundant favour to the citizens of the city afore- " said, have granted to them, for us and for our

" heirs, and by this our charter have confirmed, that " although they, or their predecessors, citizens of " the city aforesaid, have not hitherto fully used, " upon any emergent occasion, any of the liberties, " acquittals, articles, or free-customs, contained in " the said charter and letters; yet, the same citi- " zens, and their heirs and successors, citizens of " that city, may henceforth fully enjoy those liber- " ties, acquittals, articles, and free-customs, and " any of them, for ever. 15 Edward III. June the " 3d, at the Tower of London."

According to Stow, the price of Gascon wines, in London, was, at this time, fourpence; and that of Rhenish wine, sixpence per gallon.

A provincial synod was held at London in this year, in which it was decreed, that " whoever should be prevailed upon by the friars and monks, to make their wills, at the point of death, in prejudice of their families, and the churches where they dwelt, should not have the benefit of Christian burial."

The king being in want of money to carry on the war with France, in the following year, was in hopes he should be able to raise a large sum, by compelling every citizen possessed of forty pounds per annum to take upon him the order of knighthood, and the following writ was sent to the sheriffs of London.

" We command, firmly enjoining you, that in " the city aforesaid, when you shall think conve- " nient, ye cause it publicly to be proclaimed, that " all who have forty pounds of land or rent, as they " have revenue by the year, and have held them " for three whole years, and are not knights, take " upon them the order of knighthood, about the

" feast of St. Laurence next (August 10), or at
" most on the feast, upon danger, which followeth:
" And that ye diligently enquire of the names of
" those who have forty pounds per annum of land
" or rents in the said city; and that ye certify us
" of those names in our chancery before the aforesaid feast: and by no means omit ye this.

" Witness myself at Westminster, the thirtieth
" day of June, in the year of our reign over
" England the eighteenth, but of our reign
" over France the fifth."

This command was grounded upon a statute made in the first year of Edward II. whereby it was ordered, that all persons who were qualified for the equestrian order, that is, possessed of twenty pounds per annum, in fee or for life, should take upon himself the title of knighthood. But the citizens, not being so fond of honours, as to purchase them at so dear a rate, availed themselves of the exceptions they found in the statute, and directed the sheriffs to return the following answer:

" We have caused to be proclaimed throughout
" our whole bailiffwick all the articles contained in
" the brief, as it is commanded in the same. We
" have caused also inquisition to be made, by the
" oath of honest and lawful men of our said bailiffwick, if any have forty pounds of land or rent, by
" the year, in our said bailiffwick, and have held
" them for three whole years; and of those who
" hold a part in our bailiffwick, and a part elsewhere, of the said value. By whose oath we find,
" that all the lands and rents in the said city are
" held of the lord the king in capite, as free burgage
" in fee-farm. Nor is there any that hath forty
" pounds in land or rent in the same by the year
" certain;

"certain; because the lands in the said city, some "are let for more, some for less, and often stand "empty, and are not let, yet frequently have divers "burdens, and require repairs and amendments; "and for those causes, and the burning of houses, "and divers other dangers happening, the certainty "of the true value of them cannot be known. And "as to the lands or rents, which the citizens have "out of the bailiffwick, the sworn men say, that "they know nothing of the value of them by the "year, nor can enquire."

The same year, the king granted Reginald de Conductu, an annuity of twenty-one pounds, arising from several messuages in the city belonging to the crown, in consequence of the said Reginald having, during his mayoralty, in the ninth and tenth years of the reign of Edward III. expended large sums of money for the benefit of the citizens in general; and for other reasons which did him honour both as a man and a magistrate.

It appears from the Fœdera*, that the London mob, probably consisting of our own weavers, &c. having, in this year, insulted the foreign cloth-weavers, who had been brought over, and settled here, under the authority of an act of parliament, passed in the eleventh of Edward III. so that those weavers could not with safety carry on their business, the king thereupon issued his mandate to the mayor and sheriffs of London, to seize on and imprison the rioters in his prison of Newgate. He also renewed and confirmed his former grants of all possible freedom and protection to foreign cloth-workers. "By these and such-like good regulations," says Mr. Barnes, in his History of King

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* Vol. IV. p. 428.

Edward III. "though, for the present, they took not their full effect, King Edward restored the woollen-manufacture, after it had been lost for many years in this nation, from whose reign it has flourished to our days."

We are at length come to the time of the first coinage of gold in England, which appears to have been in this year. For in the Fœdera* we have a proclamation of Edward III. acquainting the public, that his parliament had agreed (18th Edward III. Cap. 6.) to the coining of three different coins of gold, viz. one piece of the value of six shillings, being the weight of two small florins of Florence; a second of half that value and weight; and a third of a quarter of the first. This gold was of twenty-three carats, three grains and a half fine, and half a grain in allay. The standard of our silver coins was then eleven ounces and two pennyweights fine, and eighteen pennyweights allay, called old sterling standard; and an ounce of silver weighed exactly twenty pennyweights, and was coined into twenty silver pence. This proclamation commands the sheriffs of London to publish the same, and to see that all persons do, without scruple, take the said gold coins in all payments.

Another proclamation was issued this same year†, directed, as the former, to the said sheriffs, signifying his having, by the advice of his council, caused three other gold pieces to be coined, viz. one of six shillings and eightpence value, which he names a gold noble, or half mark; one, of half that value, to be called a maille-noble; and a third, to be a quarter of the value of the first, and to be called a ferling, or farthing noble.

The year following, it was ordered that in future the new mayor should be chosen by the mayor and aldermen for the time being, and by such of the principal inhabitants of each ward as should be summoned to attend. It was at the same time resolved, that if the person chosen on St. Edward's day should be absent at the election, or refuse to serve that office, he should forfeit an hundred marks, to be paid to the person elected in his room, on the feast of St. Simon and Jude; also, that the sum of twenty pounds should be paid by every alderman absenting himself, without a reasonable cause, from the election of a mayor.

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* Vol. V. p. 403. † Ibid. p. 416.

These regulations or fines were occasioned by a dislike taken by the citizens, and their shunning those high offices in their corporation, on account of some new ordinances made at court, (viz. that matters done in London should be tried by persons of foreign counties) to the great prejudice of their franchises, &c. confirmed to the city by *magna charta*. Wherefore, in the year 1348, and 21 Edward III. the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty, in their petition to the king, allege, that the good people of the said city refuse to be mayor, aldermen, or other officers, and to live and merchandize in the city, for fear of the great penalty contained in the said ordinances. And because all statutes made against *magna charta* were to be null and void, they prayed to be discharged from the statute of 28 Edward I.

In the year 1346, David, King of Scotland, who had been taken prisoner in the battle of Nevil's Cross, after a gallant resistance, was lodged in the Tower of London.

Edward's vast expenses in his wars obliged him to have recourse to various expedients for supplying his wants: among which were compulsory loans; generally from the clergy and religious houses, but, in some instances, from laymen. In this year, a loan of one thousand pounds was demanded of John de Cherleton, a citizen of London, and the city was obliged* to supply the royal army with one hundred men-at-arms (who, in those times, were on horseback, and in armour, each attended by three or four men, armed, on foot, so that this might amount to five hundred in the whole), and five hundred armed foot soldiers, who were taken into the king's pay, on their embarkation at Portsmouth.

It may, perhaps, be worth while to record here, an authentic account of a very early toll, if not the most early ever collected in England, for the repair of a public road, in which there is also somewhat curious relating to antiquarianism and trade, and to the ancient state of the suburbs of London, westward. It is in the Fœdera†, under the date 1236, "King Edward III. grants his commission to the master of the hospital of St. Giles in the Fields, without the city of London, and to John of Holborn, to lay a toll on all sorts of carriages, for two years to come, passing through the highway *(via regia)*, leading from the said hospital to the bar of the old Temple of London (now Holborn Bars). Also through another certain highway, called Perpoole (probably now Portpool-lane and part of Gray's Inn, it having been built on the site of the manor house of Perpoole), joining to the before-named highway. Which roads were, by the frequent passage of carts, waynes, and horses, to and from London, become so miry and deep, as to be almost impassable; as also the highway called Charing." (probably now St. Martin's-lane, leading to the then village of Charing.)

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* Fœdera, Vol. V. p. 493. † Ibid. p. 520.

THE TOLLS WERE AS FOLLOWS:

	L.	S.	D.
1. For every cart or wayne laden with wool, leather, wine, honey, wax, oil, pitch, tar, fish, iron, brass, copper, lead, tin, or other metal, corn, &c. for sale, to the value of twenty shillings - - - - -	0	0	1
2. For every horse load of merchandize	0	0	0¼
3. For every horse used in carrying corn, or other provisions or goods, shall be paid weekly - -	0	0	0½
4. For every load of hay - - -	0	0	0¼
5. For carts used to carry charcoal, bark, &c. weekly - - -	0	0	1
6. For every horse, ox, or cow, passing those roads - - -	0	0	0¼
7. For every score of sheep and hogs -	0	0	0½
8. And for all other merchandize of five shillings value - - -	0	0	0_

But ecclesiastical persons of both sexes were exempted from this toll.

In the twentieth year of his reign, Edward commanded the mayor and sheriffs of London to make proclamation in every ward of the city, that all leprous persons, inhabiting therein, should depart the same within fifteen days; and that no person whatsoever should suffer any leper to remain in his house, on pain of the king's farthest displeasure; and that they should cause all the said lepers to be removed into some of the out-parts, from the company and conversation of the healthy. Whereupon, the citizens claimed the right left them by Queen Matilda, the foundress, to send fourteen leprous persons to be maintained in St. Giles's hospital.

The royal navy still remained of the nature of a naval militia; for we learn that at the siege of

Calais, which was taken in this year, every maritime town furnished its quota of shipping, the number from London being twenty-five ships and six hundred and sixty-two mariners.

The rejoicings which took place for the conquest of Calais, and the king's other successes in France, were soon damped by a terrible pestilence, which is said to have spread from India over all the countries westward of it, and reached England in 1348, where it destroyed immense numbers of the inhabitants, so that it was computed that, in the city of London, not more than one in ten survived the mortality; which lessened the consumption greatly, and produced a considerable reduction in the price of the necessaries of life, as appears from the following specimen.

	S.	D.
A fine horse, formerly worth forty shillings, at - - - - - -	6	8
The best fed ox, at - - - - -	4	0
The best cow, at - - - - -	1	0
The best heifer, or steer, at - -	0	6
The best weather, at - - - -	0	4
The best ewe, at - - - -	0	3
The best lamb, at - - - - -	0	2
The best hog, at - - - -	0	5
A stone of wool, at - - - -	0	9

This shocking distemper continued to rage with such violence, that the common cemeteries were not large enough to receive the dead bodies; which induced several well-disposed people to purchase ground for that purpose: amongst whom we find Ralph Stratford, Bishop of London, who bought a piece of ground called No-man's-land, which he inclosed with a brick wall, and dedicated to the burial of the dead; adjoining to which was a place called Spittle-croft, the property of St. Bartholomew's

Hospital, containing thirteen acres and a rod of ground, which was also purchased in the following year, and appropriated to the same use of burying the dead, by Sir Walter Manny; in which were buried fifty thousand persons who died of the plague, as recorded by ancient historians, and was long kept in remembrance by the following inscription fixed on a stone cross upon the premises:

Anno Domini 1349, *regnante magna Pestilentia, consecratum fuit hoc Cœmeterium, in quo, et infra septa præsentis Monasterii, sepulta fuerunt mortuorum Corpora plusquam quinquaginta millia, præter alia multa ab hinc usque ad præsens: Quorum Animabus propitietur Deus.* Amen.

In English:

A great plague raging in the year of our Lord, 1349, this burial-ground was consecrated, wherein, and within the bounds of the present monastery, were buried more than fifty thousand bodies of the dead, besides many others thence-forward to the present time; whose souls the Lord have mercy upon. Amen.

There was also another piece of ground purchased at the east-end of the city, just without the wall, by one John Corey, a clergyman, for the same use, in the year 1348; on which spot was afterwards, in this same reign, founded the abbey of St. Mary of Grace, for Cistertian monks; but now it is covered by the Victualling-office, and some adjoining houses. Corey dedicated this burial-ground by the name of the Church-yard of the Holy Trinity; in which were also buried innumerable bodies, during the time of this pestilence.

The

The great havock made by this pestilence reduced the number of artificers and labouring people so much, both in London and the country, that the survivors refused to work unless they had excessive wages, an act of parliament was passed in the twenty-third of Edward III. by which it was enacted, that all able-bodied persons, under sixty years of age, having no visible way of living, shall be bound to serve him that doth require him, or be committed to gaol, till he find surety to serve: and, if he leave his service before his time,* he shall be imprisoned: and if he take more than the old wages he shall be imprisoned. Which statute remained in force until the fifth of Queen Elizabeth, when it was repealed.

How much soever Edward III. might be diverted from his intention of establishing a woollen manufacture in England, by his favourite project of conquering France, yet he had never entirely lost sight of it, and the foreign weavers being become, by this time, very numerous, in London, Howell, in his Londinopolis, relates, that, in the year 1357, the king appointed the meetings of the weavers, who had been brought from Flanders, to be in the church-yard of St. Lawrence Poultney, or Pountney; and that the weavers from Brabant should meet in the church-yard of St. Mary, Somerset, both places being in the ward of Candlewick, in which places, probably, they exposed their cloths for sale at stated times; as was afterwards done in Cloth-fair, in West-Smithfield. Howell adds, that there were then in London, weavers of divers sorts, viz. of drapery, or tapery, and napery; that is of woollen and linen.

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* The king had, in this year, withdrawn the staple from Bruges, in consequence of the match between his daughter and the young Earl of Flanders being broken off, and fixed it at the following English towns: viz. Westminster, Canterbury, Chichester, Exeter, Winchester, Bristol, Lincoln, York, Norwich, Newcastle, and Hull, for England; and to Dublin, Cork, Waterford, and Drogheda, for Ireland. See the statute of the staple (27th of Edward III.)

In Vol. V. p. 774 of the Fœdera, is an ordinance of King Edward III. in council dated in 1353, "for laying a tax of three-pence on every sack *(serplarium)* of wool, and every three hundred of woolfels; sixpence on every last of leather; fourpence on every fodder *(carrata)* of lead; fourpence on every ton of wine; and one halfpenny on every twenty shillings value of all other goods, carried either by land or water to the staple of Westminster, in order for reparing the highway leading from the gate of London, called Temple-bar, to the gate of the abbey at Westminster, that highway being, by the frequent passing of carts and horses, carrying merchandize and provisions to the said staple, become so deep and miry, and the pavement so broken and worn, as to be very dangerous both to men and carriages. And, as the proprietors of the houses near and leading to that staple, have by means of the said staple, greatly raised their rents, the way before those houses should, at their charge, be paved; and that part of the said way, where no houses are, should be paved anew out of the said duties; and the remainder of the said duties should be applied towards the erecting a bridge near the royal palace of Westminster, for the convenience of the said staple." It does not appear what bridge is here alluded to, though, probably, it was only that mentioned by Stow as being "over Long Ditch;" for it is certain that there was not any over the Thames at this period.

From this record we learn, I. That the gate, still called Temple-bar, is of great antiquity as a western boundary of the city.

II. That all the highway, or road, between Temple-bar and Westminster, now the Strand, &c. was then a mere road, separating the city of London from Westminster, having, however, many noblemens' houses and gardens adjoining to it, which have since given names to the streets erected on their sites.

III. That the erecting the staple* for wool, &c. at Westminster, occasioned so great a resort thither, that it increased, on that account, to a considerable town, it having had before, no other dependence but the royal residence and the adjacent abbey, to which, indeed, may be added its vicinity to London.

IV. That all that part which may be called the extention of the ancient city, westward, from its proper wall and principal gate, named Ludgate, to Temple-bar, *i. e.* the present Fleet-street, was, at this time built upon, and well inhabited.

It may be observed here that the additions to the city beyond its ancient gates and walls, commonly called its liberties, appear to have been taken in gradually, since there is not any law extant by which they are set out and ascertained, nor have any of its historiographers been able to discover the precise times when these additions were made.

King Edward, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, out of his great affection to the citizens of London, granted them the following charter:

"Edward, by the grace of God, King of England "and France, and Lord of Ireland, to all to whom "these our letters shall come, greeting.

"Know ye, that we being worthily careful of the "conservation and increase of the name and honour

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* Some remains of the place where this staple was kept, and particularly an old stone gate, fronting the Thames, were in being till the year 1741, when they were pulled down to make room for the abutment of the new bridge over the Thames, and the place retained the name of the *Wool-staple*, till then, as appears by the act of parliament for erecting the bridge.

"of our city of London, and at the supplication "of the mayor, sheriffs, and commonalty of the "said city, to us humbly made, will and grant, for "us and our heirs, that the serjeants appointed "to bear the maces in our said city may lawfully "carry them of gold or silver, or silvered, or garnished with the sign of our arms, or others, "every where in the said city, and in the suburbs "of the same; and in the county of Middlesex, "and other places to the liberty of the said city "appertaining: and also without the said city to "meet with us, our mother, consort, or the children "of us or of our heirs, or other royal persons, when "we or any of us shall come to the said city; and "also in going forth with us, or any of us, when we "shall depart from the said city; and also in the "presence of us, our mother, or consort, or our "children, when the said mayor, or sheriffs, or "aldermen of the said city, or any of them, shall "come to us, or our heirs, at, or without the command or warning of us, or any of us: and as often "as it shall happen any of the said serjeants to be "sent to foreign places, and without the said city, "to do their office, at the command of us, or of the "mayor or sheriffs aforesaid, they may lawfully "carry, going and coming, publicly, as our own "serjeants at arms, attending our presence do carry "their maces; any ordinance or commandment "made to the contrary notwithstanding. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to "be made patent.

"Witness myself at Westminster, the 10th day
"of June, in the 28th year of our reign of Eng-
"land, and of France the 15th."

From this privilege of having gold or silver maces, in all respects the same as royal, carried before their mayor, an honour expressly interdicted to all other corporations in the kingdom, it is probable that, at this time, he also received the addition of *lord* to the title of his office: there being no other record to which this event can be referred.

In gratitude for this favour the citizens raised and sent to the king's army, at their own expense, twenty-five men at arms, and five hundred archers, cloathed in one uniform, to assist him in his wars with France.

We find in the Fœdera, Vol. V. p. 778, a precept of King Edward III. dated in 1354, directing the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem, on whose military order the estates of the Knights Templars were mostly bestowed, when that order was dissolved, "to repair the bridge of the New Temple," that is the water-stairs, and adjoining causeway, that place being the great water passage between the city and suburbs of London, and the town of Westminster. "From which bridge," says the king, "so many great persons, and others, go by water to Westminster, to our parliaments and councils."

In the year 1357, London was honoured with the grandest triumphal procession that this nation can boast of. It was the entry of Edward Prince of Wales, commonly called the Black Prince, on account of his black armour; who, having routed the French army at Poictiers, and taken King John prisoner, brought him to London, and was met in Southwark by five thousand citizens, and upwards, on horseback, richly accoutred. King John, the captive, was cloathed in royal apparel, and mounted on a stately white courser, as a symbol of sovereignty. Behind, on a little black galloway, rode the victorious hero Prince Edward. The mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and the several companies in their formalities, with stately pageants, met them at the foot of London Bridge. And the streets through which the triumph passed, were adorned with the richest tapestries, and with plate, silks, and other furniture, to exhibit a view of their riches, and with such quantities of bows, arrows, shields, helmets, coats of mail, swords, spears, and other armour and weapons for war, exposed in balconies, shops, windows, &c. as was never before seen collected together, and conveyed a proper idea of the strength and martial genius of the English. This cavalcade lasted from three in the morning till noon.

Soon after this affair, a dispute happened between the citizens, and the steward of the king's household, who, notwithstanding the known privileges of the city, used frequently to oblige them to plead out of the city.

Hereupon the citizens determined to apply to the king for the redress of this grievance, and his majesty was pleased to give them the following answer:

"That the king willeth, that, if a transgression
" be made to any of the king's household, within
" the liberty of the city of London, and within the
" verge of the king, the plea of such transgression
" be held before the steward and marshal of the
" king's household; and, if inquisition must be made,
" let that inquisition be taken within the said city."

And his majesty was pleased to confirm the said answer in parliament, in the thirtieth year of his reign, with this additional clause.

"And this the lord the king granted in favour of
" the poor workmen of the said city, who lived of
" the

"the work of their own hands, that they want not "their food, or be more impoverished."

Corn became so scarce, in the year 1359, that it was sold for one pound six shillings and eightpence, the quarter, at London.

In the next year, the city of London, in conjunction with the other ports of the kingdom, fitted out a powerful fleet of a hundred and sixty sail of ships, having fourteen thousand men on board, who, landing on the coast of France, ravaged, burnt, and destroyed the country wherever they came, to revenge the barbarous and unheard-of cruelties committed by the French on the coast of Sussex, which they had invaded in the beginning of the year.

The plague broke out again in France, in 1361, and, it being apprehended that it might be communicated to London, or revived in it by the putrid blood and entrails of beasts, which the butchers used to throw into the streets, the king, by way of precaution, issued his commands to the mayor and sheriffs, in a letter, in which he says,

"Because by killing of great beasts, &c. "from "whose putrid blood running down the streets, and "the bowels cast into the Thames, the air in the "city is very much corrupted and infected, whence "abominable and most filthy stinks proceed, sick- "nesses and many other evils have happened to such "as have abode in the said city, or have resorted to "it; and great dangers are feared to fall out for the "time to come, unless remedy be presently made "against it: We, willing to prevent such danger, "and to provide as much as in us lies for the honesty "of the said city, and the safety of our people, by "the consent of our council in our present parlia-

"ment, have ordained, that all bulls, oxen, hogs, "and other gross creatures, to be slain for the sustenance of the said city, be led as far as the town of "Stratford on one part of London, and the town of "Knightsbridge on the other; and there, and not "on this side, be slain; and that their bowels be "there cleansed, to be brought, together with the "flesh, to the said city to be sold: and if any butcher shall presume any thing rashly against this "ordinance, let him incur forfeiture of the flesh of "the creatures which he hath caused to be slain on "this side the said towns, and the punishment of "imprisonment for one year. This ordinance to be "publicly proclaimed and held; and all butchers "doing otherwise to be chastized and punished according to the form of the ordinance aforesaid.

"Witness the king at Westminster, the twenty-"fifth day of February."

Yet notwithstanding this and every other precaution taken to keep out the plague, it reached England, and raged so furiously, that in London only, in the space of two days, there died upwards of twelve hundred persons. However, this did not prevent a great tournament, held in Smithfield in the month of May, 1362, at which were present the king and queen, and a vast number of knights from France and other states.

The kings of Scotland, France, and Cyprus, being in England in 1363, on a visit to King Edward, Henry Picard, a former Lord Mayor of London, had the honour of giving a sumptuous entertainment to the four monarchs, together with the Prince of Wales, and most of the nobility; and, says Stow, "Afterwards kept his hall for all comers that were willing to play at dice, and hazard: the Ladie Margaret,

garet, his wife, kept her chamber to the same effect, &c."

In the mayoralty of Adam Bury, and the 39th of Edward III. there passed an ordinance of parliament to ascertain what things a tenant had not a right to move, at his leaving a house he had rented in the city or its liberties.

> "It was ordained, that if any person hire a tenement, house, or houses, in the city of London, or "in the suburbs thereof, to hold the same for term "of life, or of years, or only from year to year, or "from quarter to quarter; if the said tenant shall "make, or cause to be made, any pentyses or other "easements in the said tenement, house, or houses, "fixed with nails of iron or wooden pegs to the premises, or to the soil thereof; it shall not be lawful "for such tenant to remove such pentyses or easements at the end of the term, or at any other time "to destroy them; but they shall always remain to "the landlord of the said premises, as a parcel "thereof."

Agreeable to which ordinance we find in Arnold's Chronicle, that the mayor and aldermen published the following explanation, viz.

> "Whereas nowe of late, amonge divers people, "was sprongen matter of doute upon the most olde "custome had and used in this cyte of London, of "suche thyngys, which by tenauntys for terms of "lyfe or yerys, have been affyxed unto houses, "without specyal lycence of the owner of the soyle, "whether they owe to remayne unto the owner of "the soyle, as parcel of the same; or ellys whether "it shall be lawful unto suche tenauntys, on the end

"of her terme, all suche thyngys affyxed to remove. "Whereupon, olde bokys seen, and many recordys, "olde processys, and engagementys of the sayd cyte, "it was declared by the mayor and aldermen, for an "olde prescrybed custom of the cyte aforesayd, that "all suche easementys fyxed unto houses, or to soyle, "by such tenauntys, without specyal and expresse "lycence of the owner of the soyle, yf they be "affyxed with nayles of irne or of tree, as pentyses, "glasse, lockys, benchys, or any suche other; or "elles if they be affyxed with morter or lyme, or of "erther, or any other morter, as forneys, leedys, "candorous chemyneys, corbels, pavemettis, or suche "other; or elles yf plantys be roetyd in the ground, "as vines, trees, graffe stounks, trees of frut, &c. it "shall not be lawful unto suche tenauntys, in the "end of her terme, or on any other tyme therein, "nor any of them to put away, move, or plucke "up in any wyse, but that they shall alway remayne "to the owner of the soyle, as parcels of the same "soyle or tenement."

At this period the citizens of London appear to have discontinued the use of archery, which had been much practised by, and in general esteem with their ancestors; whereupon the king sent the following letter to the sheriffs of London, to revive and establish the practice of shooting with arrows.

"The king to the sheriffs of London, greeting. "Because the people of our realm, as well of good "quality as mean, have commonly in their sports "before these times exercised the skill of shooting "arrows; whence it is well known, that honour and "profit have accrued to our whole realm, and to us, "by the help of God, no small assistance in our "warlike acts; and now the said skill being, as it "were, wholly laid aside, the same people please "themselves in hurling of stones and wood and "iron; and some in hand-ball, foot-ball, bandy-ball, "and in cambuck, or cock-fighting; and some also "apply themselves to other dishonest games, and "less profitable or useful; whereby the said realm "is likely, in a short time, to become destitute of "archers.

"We, willing to apply a seasonable remedy to "this, command you, that in places in the aforesaid "city, as well within the liberties as without, where "you shall see it expedient, you cause public proclamation to be made, that every one of the said "city, strong in body, at leisure times on holidays, "use in their recreations bows and arrows, or pellets, "or bolts, and learn and exercise the art of shooting; "forbidding all and singular on our behalf, that they "do not after any manner apply themselves to the "throwing of stones, wood, iron, hand-ball, foot-ball, "bandy-ball, cambuck, or cock-fighting, nor such "other like vain plays, which have no profit in them, "or concern themselves therein, under pain of imprisonment.

"Witness the king at Westminster, the twelfth "day of June."

The first fine we read of, to be levied for not serving the office of mayor, is in the year 1368: when Walter Berneye being elected, and not appearing to take that office upon him, at the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, Simon de Mordon was elected in his stead, and sworn in next day, before the Barons of the Exchequer; and a warrant of distress was issued to levy "one hundred marks on the said Walter's goods, for the use of the said Simon, the Lord Mayor."

The citizens of London still continued their dislike to foreign merchants, as may be seen by a letter from the king to the mayor and sheriffs, in 1369, which is preserved in the Fœdera, Vol. VI. p. 618, wherein he tells them, "that he is informed the people of that city were daily offering injuries and insults to the merchants and others of Flanders and Lombardy, living in and resorting to London; although the said foreigners came thither under his protection, and the faith of his proclamation, for the public good, and the advantage of the kingdom. As therefore they have an undoubted claim to be protected from all manner of wrongs, he commands the said mayor and sheriffs to make proclamation in their city and suburbs, that none, of what degree soever, do presume to offer any sort of injury either to the persons or goods of the said foreigners, under the severest penalties."

The plague broke out again in London, in the course of this year, and made great havoc; and was followed by a great scarcity of corn, which sold for one pound four shillings per quarter; and, in the next year, owing to a wet harvest, rose to one pound six shillings and eightpence.

CHAP. XIII.

CHAP. XIII.

The City lend the King a considerable sum.—Petition against Encroachments.—Chaucer appointed Comptroller of the Customs.—The practice of Usury checked.—Charters respecting chusing Aldermen, and the encouragement of Foreigners.—Prosecutions under the last Charter.—The City out of favour at Court.—Grand Masquerade on horseback at Kennington.—Wickliff cited before the Ecclesiastical Court at St. Paul's.—Altercation between the Bishop of London and the Duke of Lancaster.—The Citizens take part with the Bishop.—Resentment of the Duke.—Riots at the Marshalsea and Savoy.—A Priest murdered.—Endeavours to bring about an Accommodation.—A deputation sent to the King.—The Duke's ill-will not appeased.—The Mayor and some of the Aldermen displaced by the King's Writ.—Death of Edward III.—Customs paid at the Markets in this reign.

In the forty-first year of Edward, a considerable parliamentary aid was granted to the king, for enabling him to prosecute the war in France; and, upon the credit of it, the king applied to the city to advance him the sum of four thousand six hundred and one pounds three shillings and four-pence, which was done by the mayor and certain aldermen.

The citizens, thinking themselves aggrieved by some encroachments on their liberties by private grants from the crown, as particularly by such as had been given to foreigners in the year 1337, presented the following humble and moving petition to the king and parliament:

"To our Lord the King, and his Noble Council, "the Citizens of the city of London do show, That

" they have nothing to live upon but their industry " and franchise, upon which franchise the said city " was founded; and by reason of which franchise " they were wont to travel by land and by sea, in " divers countries, for their profit; by which travel " they used to bring divers merchandizes, to the great " common profit of the whole realm of England, to " the great aid and maintenance of the said city, and " sustenance and increase of the navy of the said " land. And of late their franchises are taken from " them, against the grant of our said noble lord the " king, and his noble progenitors, sealed with their " seals, and against the great charter; to the great " destruction as well of the said city, common " damage of the land, as also of the navy.

" Whereupon, they pray, that the king would " please to have regard, and take notice, that the " said city was founded upon the said franchises, " without which they could not maintain the city, " nor bear the taxes and other charges, as they were " wont to do: For which cause they pray they may " have their franchises, according to the grant of the " king, and his noble progenitors, and the great " charter; and that all such grants and confirmations of franchises may be made to all other cities " and burghs of the realm."

The parliament being soon after adjourned, this petition was not answered till the following year, when the citizens received this answer: " Let them " particularly show the breach of any liberty, and " they shall be answered."

In the year 1374, as appears from the Fœdera, vol. VII. p. 38, our great poet, Chaucer, was appointed " to the office of Comptroller of the Customs, and of the subsidy of wool and leather, in the port of London; but on this express condition, that he shall write, with his own hand, the registers, or entries belonging to his said office of comptroller, and shall constantly act in person in his said office, and not by a deputy or substitute." He had previously obtained a grant of one pitcher *(unum pycher)* of wine, to be daily delivered to him by the king's butler, during his life, at the port of the city of London.

In the year 1375, the destructive practice of usury was arrived at such an enormous height, as tended greatly to the injury of trade in general, and the oppression of many persons in particular; whereupon, John Not, the mayor of London, took such measures to enforce the laws against extortioners, as soon stopped the growing evil; which proceeding was highly approved by his majesty and the parliament; and the whole nation was enjoined to follow the example of the mayor of London.

In the fiftieth year of his reign, Edward granted two charters; the first, which was to explain the right of chusing aldermen, runs as follows:

"Edward, by the grace of God, king of England "and France, and lord of Ireland, to all men to whom "we send, greeting: Among other articles which "our Lord Edward, some time king of England, our "father, the year of his reign XII. by his letters "patents, hath granted and confirmed to the citizens "of the said city of London, for the amendment and "common profit of them that dwell in the same "city, and of them that repair thereto. In the same "letters it is contained, that the aldermen of the "aforesaid city, that every year they be removed on "the day of St. Gregory, by the commonalty of the "said city; and that they so removed be not chosen "again the next year ensuing; but, instead of them "that have been removed, others be chosen by the "same wards from which such aldermen were re-"moved.

" moved, as in the same letters plainly it is contain-
" ed; concerning which, on the part of the common-
" alty of the aforesaid city, by their petition before
" us in our great council, now again asked, to us
" meekly it is besought, that since divers opinions
" and divers strifes have been sprung between the
" aldermen and the commonalty of the said city,
" upon the removing of aldermen, for the wrong
" interpretation of words in the aforesaid articles con-
" tained, that is to say, that the aforesaid aldermen
" affirm that by the two words, viz. *sint amobiles per*
" *communitatem, &c. i. e.* let them be removed by
" the commonalty, they ought not to be removed
" from the office of aldermanship, without sufficient
" reason, or for some notorious offence to be found
" in them. But others of the said citizens being of a
" contrary opinion, and willing to abolish this article,
" they have besought us to explain the said article,
" so as to remove all doubt about the premises: We
" being willing, as much as lieth in us, to contribute
" to the peace and tranquillity of the said mayor,
" aldermen, and commonalty, and their successors,
" henceforward, concerning the interpretation of the
" said article, do by and with the advice of our said
" council, declare, that all and every alderman of the
" said city, every year, for ever, on the feast of St.
" Gregory, the pope, from the office of an alderman
" utterly and precisely shall cease, and shall not be
" chosen again; but that, instead of those removed,
" other aldermen shall be chosen every year, for ever,
" out of the discreet citizens of good fame, by the
" said wards from which the said aldermen were re-
" moved. In witness whereof we have caused these
" our letters to be made patents.

" Witness myself at Westminster, the twelfth day
" of November, the fiftieth year of our reign in
" England, and the thirty-sixth over France."

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The other charter was in answer to the citizens' petition against private licence being granted to foreigners, and is recited as follows:

"Edward, king of England and France, and lord of "Ireland, to all to whom these letters shall come, "greeting:

"Know ye, that whereas, amongst other liberties "granted to the citizens of our city of London, by "the charters of our progenitors, sometime kings of "England, which we have confirmed, and by our's, "it hath been granted unto them, that all merchant-"strangers coming into England, shall remain at "board with the free hosts of the city aforesaid, and "of other cities and towns in England, without "keeping any houses or societies by themselves; and "that there should be no brokers of any merchan-"dizes from henceforth, unless they were chosen "thereunto by the merchants in the mysteries in "which the said brokers exercise their offices, and "thereupon at the least do take their oaths before "the mayor of the said city: and also, that the mer-"chants who are not of the freedom of the said city, "should not sell by retail any wines or other wares "within the said city, or the suburbs thereof. And now, "our well-beloved subjects, the mayor, aldermen, "and other citizens of the said city, have humbly "beseeched us and our council in the last parlia-"ment, by their petition exhibited in these words:

"To our lord the king, and his good council, "your liege subjects, mayor, aldermen, and com-"monalty of the city of London, show, That where-"as, they have often sued in divers parliaments to "have consideration how that they are impoverished "and undone, by reason their liberties, by him and "his progenitors to them granted, are restrained, and "great part taken away: and now at the last parlia-

" ment holden at Westminster, it was answered to " them, that they should declare their griefs specially, " and they should have good remedy therefore; of " which griefs, among divers others, these be; that " every stranger might dwell in the said city, and " keep a house, and be a broker, and sell and buy all " manner of merchandizes by retail; and one stranger " to sell to another to sell again, to the great enhancing the prices of merchandizes, and a cause to " make them remain there more than forty days; " whereas, in times past, no merchant-stranger might " use any of these points, contrary to the franchises " of the said city, before these times had and used: " by which grievance the merchants of the said city " are greatly impoverished, and the navy impaired, " and the privities of the land by the said strangers " discovered to our enemies by spies, and other " strangers into these houses received. May it therefore please your majesty and council, to ordain in " this parliament, that the merchant-strangers may " be restrained in the points aforesaid, and the " mayor, aldermen, and commons of the said city, " may enjoy the said franchises. We, for the special " affection we bear to the said citizens, willing to " provide for the tranquillity and profit of the said " citizens in that behalf, with the assent of our prelates, nobles, &c. have granted, for us and our " heirs, to the said mayor and aldermen, and citizens " of the said city, and their successors, upon condition they put the said city under good government, " to our honour, and profit of our realm of England, " and right govern the same; that no strangers from " henceforth, shall sell any wares in the same city, " or suburbs thereof, by retail; nor shall keep any " house, nor be a broker in the said city, or suburbs " thereof; any statute or ordinance made to the " contrary notwithstanding. Saving always to the

" merchants of High Almaine their liberties by us
" and our progenitors to them granted and confirmed.
" In witness whereof we have caused these our let-
" ters to be made patent.

" Witness myself at Westminster, the fourth
" day of December, in the fiftieth year of our
" reign over England, and of our kingdom of
" France the thirty-seventh."

Under the sanction of this royal charter, several prosecutions were immediately commenced against those who had abused the royal authority, by having obtained unconstitutional grants from the king. Among these were Richard Lyons, merchant, and John Peach, wine merchant, both of London.

The former was accused of frauds, extortions, and other illegal acts, in obtaining licences, tampering with the council, procuring unfair contracts with government, &c. and being convicted, he was disfranchised and imprisoned, and all his estates, both real and personal were confiscated.

The latter was charged with having raised excessive sums of money upon the subject, by a licence which he had procured under the great seal, for the sole privilege of selling sweet wine in the city of London: for which he was also committed to prison, and kept there, till he made satisfaction to all parties aggrieved by him; and, the licence being annulled, the citizens were restored to their ancient right of selling such wines.

Though it may be reasonably inferred from the grant of these charters, that the citizens were, at that time, in great favour at court, yet this seems to have been of no long duration; for when the king was addressed by the house of commons, in 1377, for a confirmation of these rights by an act of parliament, the answer returned was, " The king will be farther informed."

informed." Neither had the citizens any better success when they petitioned his majesty to grant them the choice of a coroner, setting forth the many evils to the city, arising from coroners not being punishable by the mayor; for the answer was, "The king will not depart from his ancient rights;" though they asked no more than was enjoyed by many cities and towns in the kingdom. And shortly after, on another application to Edward, for a confirmation of their liberties with respect to the punishment of misdemeanors in Southwark, which had been encroached upon in that part of Southwark which was guildable; they could obtain no redress, nor any answer but, "The king cannot do it without doing wrong to others."

The king's behaviour to the citizens did not lessen their regard to the royal family; for, in the same year, they entertained the Princess of Wales, her son Prince Richard, and their attendants, at Kennington, with a grand masquerade on horseback. The procession, which set out from Newgate, marched through the city, over London Bridge, and through the Borough of Southwark, to Kennington, in the following manner:

1. Flambeaux.

2. A grand band of music.

3. One hundred and thirty citizens, on horseback, in divisions; the first of which consisted of forty-eight persons dressed in the habits of esquires, with red coats, say gowns, and well-fancied vizors; the next division consisted of the same number, apparelled like knights, these were followed by a person in a most elegant habit; and the third division was headed by one resembling a pope, who was attended by twenty-four others habited like cardinals; after whom came ten men dressed like legates, in frightful

ful black vizors, who closed the cavalcade. Being all arrived at the palace, they dismounted and entered the great hall, and saluted the Prince, the Princess of Wales, &c. who repaired thither. After which one of the masques produced a pair of dice, and proposed to play with the prince. Which being accepted, the dice were so artfully contrived, that when the prince threw he was sure to win; and having thrown three times, his royal highness won a bowl, a cup, and a ring, all of gold: and having given the princess, and each of the nobility attending, the like opportunity to win each a gold ring, they were highly pleased, entertained the citizens with a sumptuous supper, and afterwards did them the honour to dance with them.

Two events which occurred about this time, tended still further to embroil the city with those about the king's person. The one arose from the citation of Wickliff to answer for himself before the Bishop of London: the other from the commitment of a citizen, by the lord-marshal, in that part of Southwark called *guildable*; which commitment was looked upon to be contrary to the rights and immunities of the city.

In the first instance, Wickliff, having preached against the usurped power of the Roman bishop, and other enormities then accustomed in the church, was stigmatized and prosecuted by the bishops and clergy as an heretic. They privately transmitted articles against him to Rome, and engaged the pope to exert his authority against him; who issued out bulls, by which he appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, commissioners to examine and censure his opinions. Under the authority of this papal commission, Wickliff was cited by the archbishop to appear on a certain day, in this year, before his court at St. Paul's Church, to answer to such charges as should be brought against him.

On the 15th of February, the day appointed, Wickliff, accompanied by John, Duke of Lancaster, the king's son, and Lord Piercy, Marshal of England, his disciples, and followed by a vast concourse of people, appeared in court: when Courtney, Bishop of London, observing that the marshal used endeavours to prepossess the people in his favour, haughtily told him, that "had he been apprised of his masterly behaviour, he would have taken care to have prevented his coming thither." This produced a very warm altercation between the Bishop and the Duke of Lancaster, who swore that "he would pull down, not only his pride, but the pride of all the bishops in the nation:" adding, that "although he might trust in his parentage, his family should profit him nothing." To which the bishop replied, "I neither trust in my parents or family, nor in the life of any man; but in God only, in whom I ought to trust." Which reply so enraged the duke, who found himself outdone in words, that he whispered one who sat near him, that he had rather drag the bishop out of the church by the hair, than be so used by him; which being overheard by some of the citizens, they cried aloud that they would rather lose their lives than suffer any violence to be done to their bishop, in his own church. These differences occasioned the court to break up without proceeding the length that was intended, but Wickliff was strictly prohibited from preaching or writing any more in defence of the articles laid to his charge.

The Duke of Lancaster, resenting the behaviour of the mob at St. Paul's, repaired to the parliament-house; and, being president of that august assembly, he, in the king's name, moved, that from that day forward there should be no more mayor of London, but that a captain should be appointed the chief magistrate; that the marshal of England might arrest in the city; and many other things manifestly contrary to their liberties and privileges.

The citizens, justly alarmed by this proceeding, assembled next morning, in their corporate capacity, to consider ways and means to divert the impending storm raised by the Duke of Lancaster; and they were also debating in what manner they might seek reparation of the injury or affront put upon their bishop: but, before they had come to any resolution, Lord Fitzwalter and Sir Guido Brian entered the city; and hardly escaped the hands of the mob, who were possessed with an opinion, that they had come with some bad intent: till Lord Fitzwalter, standing forth, spoke to the multitude to this effect: "That whereas he, by ancient inheritance, being standard-bearer for the city, was obliged to take the injuries offered to the citizens as done to himself; and thereupon advised them to look to their defence." Upon which the citizens ran to arms, and hastening with great rage to the Marshalsea, where Lord Piercy the marshal was supposed to be, they brought out a prisoner, a citizen, whom they found there in fetters, and committed contrary to the rights and immunities of the city, and set him at liberty: but not finding the marshal, they plundered his house. They then ran to the Savoy, the Duke of Lancaster's palace, with intent to revenge themselves upon him for the indignity offered to their bishop, and for endeavouring in parliament to retrench their liberties.

The duke, accompanied by the lord marshal, was at that time at dinner, at the house of John de Ipres, in the city, to which place a knight of the duke's, who had heard of the design of the rioters, went to apprize him of the danger; they instantly arose from table, hastened to the Thames, and took boat for Kennington palace, the residence of the Princess Dowager of Wales, and her son Prince Richard.

When the mob reached the Savoy, they were met by a priest, who inquired what was the cause of their coming thither in that manner, and was told that they came to seize the persons of the duke and the marshal, to compel them to release Sir Peter de la Mere, unjustly detained in prison. To this the priest replied, that Sir Peter was a traitor, and had justly deserved to be hanged. On this a cry was immediately raised that he was Piercy in disguise, and that his speech betrayed him, on which he was murdered in the most barbarous manner.

The Bishop of London, on hearing of this tumult, hastened to the Savoy, and, by persuasions, and promising them that every thing should be accommodated for the good of the city, prevailed upon them to desist, or, in all probability, the duke's palace would have been destroyed.

The Princess of Wales also endeavoured to make peace between the duke and the citizens, who returned for answer to her messengers, that out of respect to their mistress, they would submit to her commands, but hoped she would prevail on the duke to allow the Bishop of Winchester, and Sir Peter de la Mere, to answer for themselves, according to law.

The mayor and commonalty, perceiving a storm gathering, sent a deputation of the principal citizens to attend the king, who, after some opposition from the duke, were admitted to an audience, wherein they endeavoured to excuse themselves in respect of the late insurrection, protesting that they had used every means to suppress it, though unfortunately without success.

They

They further told the king, that his faithful citizens were in general under great anxiety of mind, having heard that, by an act of parliament, they were to be deprived of what were dearer to them than their lives—their liberties!

The king told them not to be uneasy on that head, for that, so far from infringing their liberties, he most earnestly desired on all occasions to enlarge them.

The citizens, highly pleased with the behaviour of their monarch, returned to the city; where they were received by their brethren with great demonstrations of joy.

Though the mayor had very wisely taken every precaution to preserve the public peace, he could not prevent a few seditious persons sticking up papers in different parts of the city, tending to inflame the minds of the populace against the Duke of Lancaster; it therefore was judged necessary to pronounce sentence of excommunication upon such persons as should, in future, presume to write or disperse any paper derogatory to the duke's character; and this was accordingly done by the Bishop of Bangor, assisted by the mayor and aldermen.

Shortly after, however, the parliament being dissolved, and the king's infirmities increasing upon him, the duke's ill-will to the city broke out with greater violence. The mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, were summoned to attend his majesty, at Sheen, near Richmond, who lay in a dying state, where they were severely reprimanded, and strongly urged to confess their great and heinous offences against the king and the duke, and to submit themselves to their mercy; but instead of so doing, they asserted their innocence, promising, however, to use their utmost endeavours to apprehend the offenders,

ders, and bring them to justice. But this was thought insufficient; whereupon Adam Staple, the mayor, and several of the aldermen, were discharged from their offices, and others appointed in their stead, by virtue of the king's writ.

It being certified to the mayor, &c. that King Edward III. was past all hopes of recovery, and laid in the agonies of death, the citizens deputed some of their most eminent inhabitants, headed by John Philpot, to wait upon Prince Richard, his successor, and the Princess Dowager of Wales, his mother, then at Kennington, humbly beseeching him to grant the city of London royal favour and protection, in case of the king's death; intreating him to come and reside amongst them, and promising to support him with their lives and fortunes. And, accordingly, as soon as it was certain the king was dead, the Londoners proclaimed his grandson Richard, the son of Edward, the Black Prince, deceased; which they immediately notified to the young king and his mother, with fresh assurances of their fidelity and loyalty, humbly beseeching his majesty to take upon him to compromise and put an end to the discord that had subsisted for some time between them and his uncle the Duke of Lancaster.

According to Stow *, the customs of Grasse-church market, in the reign of Edward III. were as follows:

	S.	D.	Q.
Every foreign cart laden with corn or malt, coming there to be sold, was to pay -	0	0	2
Every foreign cart bringing cheese -	0	2	0
Every cart of corn and cheese together, if the cheese be more worth than the corn	0	2	0
Every cart of corn and cheese together, if the corn be more worth than the cheese	0	0	2

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* Survey, 1603, p. 214.

Of

	S.	D.	Q.
Of two horses laden with corn, the bailiff had - - - -	0	0	1
The cart of the franchise of the Temple, and of St. Mary (qu. Martin) le Grand, paid - - - -	0	0	1
The cart of St. John of Jerusalem, for their proper goods, paid nothing - -	0	0	0
If the corn were brought by merchants to sell again, the load paid - -	0	0	2

And he also says*, " Touching the ancient customs of Billingsgate, in the reign of Edward III.

	S.	D.	Q.
Every great ship landing there paid for standage - - - -	0	2	0
Every little ship with orelocks - -	0	1	0
The lesser boat, called a battle - -	0	0	2
Of two quarters of corn measured, the king was to have - - -	0	0	1
Of a coomb of corn - - -	0	1	0
Of every weight going out of the city -	0	0	2
Of two quarters of sea coal, measured -	0	0	1
Of every ton of ale going out of England, beyond the seas, by merchant-strangers	0	4	0
Of every thousand herrings (except the franchises) - - -	0	0	1

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* Survey, 1603, p. 208.

CHAP. XIV.

CHAP. XIV.

The Lord Mayor officiates as Chief Butler at the Coronation of Richard II.—Charter of Confirmation.—Widows of Citizens exempted from tallage.—Perfect Reconciliation with the Duke of Lancaster.—Royal Entry.—Sir John Philpot's Expedition against Pirates.—Wool Staple.—Poll-tax.—The Aldermen charged as Barons, and the Mayor as a right honourable *Earl.—Trial by Battle in New Palace Yard.—Sir John Philpot's Armament renewed.—Wat Tyler's Insurrection.—Rebels enter Southwark, and are admitted into London.—Horrible outrages.—Tyler killed by the Lord Mayor in Smithfield.—The Rebels submit.—Jack Straw taken and executed.—The Mayor and some of the Aldermen Knighted.—Duration of the Riot.—New Seal made for the City.*

Richard II. was only eleven years of age when he ascended the throne; and, at his coronation, which took place on the 15th day of July, the citizens claimed their right to the office of chief butler, which being allowed, the Lord Mayor officiated in that capacity. The first mention we find in history of a champion at the coronations of our kings, was on this occasion; though it is doubtless of more ancient date, since Sir John Dymoke claimed it, at this time, as a right annexed to his manor of Scrivelsby, in Lincolnshire.

During the last year of Edward's life, the citizens were apprehensive of being deprived of several of their privileges, in consequence of the attempts of the Duke of Lancaster, in parliament, as was mentioned before, they had therefore petitioned the king for the peaceable enjoyment of their ancient rights and customs, but no answer was received previous to his death. Their application was consequently renewed on the accession of Richard, and, being supported by the petition of the house of commons, was graciously acquiesced in, as appears from the following charter of confirmatiom:

"Whereas the said citizens, by their petition exhibited to us in parliament, did set forth, That "although they, for a long time past, have used and "enjoyed certain free customs, until of late years "they have been unjustly molested; which customs "are as followeth, viz. That no foreigner do sell or "buy of another foreigner any merchandizes within "the liberties of the said city, upon pain of forfeiting "the same. Nevertheless, being desirous, for the "future, to take away all controversies about the "same, we do, by these presents, with the assent "aforesaid will and grant, and by these presents, for us "and our heirs, do confirm unto the said citizens, "and their successors, that, for the future, no "foreigner sell to another foreigner any merchandizes within the liberties of the said city; nor that "any foreigner do buy of another foreigner any "merchandize, upon pain of forfeiting the same; "the privileges of our subjects of Aquitaine in all "things excepted, so that such buying and selling "be made betwixt merchant and merchant."

Soon after the young king sent his mandate to the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London, for maintaining the widows of citizens, in their privilege of being exempt from all tallages and contributions.

In compliance with the wishes of the citizens, conveyed to him by Sir John Philpot, as mentioned in the preceding chapter, his majesty sent Lord Latimer, Sir Nicholas Bond, Sir Samuel Burley, and Sir Richard Addersbury, to assure the citizens of the respect he bore the city, of his resolution to reside therein, and of the progress he had made towards a reconciliation with the Duke of Lancaster, his uncle. His majesty informed them that the duke had submitted himself in all things to him, touching their case; that it was his royal pleasure they should do the like: and then that he would do all in his power to effect an honourable agreement for the city.

This message was not altogether so well received by the citizens; who, knowing the king's youth, were jealous of the sincerity of those in his councils, and of the power and interest of the duke at court, could not be brought to this absolute submission to the decision of the king, till the noble lord and the knights above-mentioned had promised, upon oath, that they should not suffer in body or goods.

On this condition the chief citizens went with the messengers to Sheen, where the young king, his mother, and the Duke of Lancaster, with a great many of the nobility, waited for their coming. The king gave them immediate audience, received them graciously, and, having the matters in dispute between the city and the duke, debated in a full council, a perfect reconciliation was wrought; so that the duke and the city entered into an entire amity and perpetual friendship. His grace vouchsafed to embrace all the citizens there present; and, next day, this accommodation was proclaimed at the usual places in London and Westminster.

Shortly after this, the king made his grand entry into London, for which the most magnificent preparations had been made: the order of it was as follows:

The young monarch, being mounted on a fine horse, was attended by the Duke of Lancaster, lord high steward of the kingdom, Lord Piercy, earl marshal, and many of the nobility.

This pompous cavalcade set out from Sheen, the king's horse being led by Sir Nicholas Bond, and the sword of state carried by Sir Simon Burley; while his majesty was followed by several divisions of the young nobility (nearly of his own age), each division being preceded by trumpets sounding.

When they arrived at London, his majesty was received by the mayor, aldermen, and citizens, and conducted to Cheapside, where was erected a grand conduit, in the form of a castle, which ran with wine during the procession.

Four beautiful girls, *about the age* of the king, supplied their sovereign, and his nobility, with a part of this wine, in golden cups; they also threw gilt flowers on his head, and scattered florins, resembling gold, among the populace.

The Duke of Lancaster particularly distinguished himself by his polite and affable behaviour, which gained him the love of the citizens in a high degree; and the general deportment, both of the nobility and the citizens, was such as to testify their mutual happiness at the prospect of uninterrupted harmony and good-will.

The following year is memorable for the expedition of Sir John Philpot, against one Mercer, a Scotch pirate, who, emboldened by the low state of the English marine, had fitted out vessels in Scotland, to cruize against the English, and other merchant-ships; and had been so successful, that he, at length, became so daring as to enter the port of Scarborough, and seize all the vessels in the harbour.

The depredations of this man occasioned repeated applications and remonstrances to the government; but these proving ineffectual, Sir John Philpot fitted out a fleet, at his own expense, which he manned with a thousand able hands, and went on board himself, as commander, determined to revenge his fellow-subjects, or perish in the attempt.

It was not long before Sir John fell in with the pirate, whom he found greatly embarrassed with the number of ships he had taken, among which were fifteen Spanish vessels with very valuable cargoes.

Mercer was resolved not to give up his acquisitions, and Sir John was equally determined to compel his submission; on which, a desperate engagement ensued, wherein Mercer was defeated, and most of his ships taken by the victorious Londoner, who then returned home, and, when he sailed up the Thames in triumph, was welcomed by the applauding shouts of his fellow-citizens.

But this affair was looked upon with a jealous eye at court: the ministry, who had themselves been too indolent to afford protection to the merchants, were greatly incensed at finding one of them who had spirit enough to undertake such an enterprize on his account; Sir John was therefore summoned before the king and council to answer for his presumption in engaging in such an expedition without a commission from the king.

Sir John attended, in obedience to the summons, when he gave such weighty reasons for the proceeding, and conducted his defence with such firmness and modesty, that he obtained an honourable dismissal.

From a record preserved in the seventh volume of the Fœdera, p. 202, under this year, it appears that the staple for the port of London, had, ever since the year 1375, been removed from Westmister, and, in all probability, to that part of Holborn where Staple Inn now stands. It says, " For King Edward III. having formerly made a grant to the dean and canons of the chapel royal of St. Stephen, in his palace of Westminster (the place in which the House of Commons

mons now sits) of sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence, out of the rents of the staple at Westminster; and the houses wherein the staple had been held, remaining for the most part empty, ever since the said year 1375, because of the said removal, King Richard now made provision for the deficiency, out of his Exchequer, to the said dean and canons." The jurisdiction of the mayor and two constables of the staple of Westminster, extended from Temple-bar to Tothill-fields, and their proceedings were governed by the law-merchant. The principal matters under their cognizance were the five staple commodities of England, wool, and woolfels, leather, lead, and tin.

In this year the parliament granted a poll-tax, the indecent manner of collecting which, was the immediate cause of the insurrection which broke out soon after, under Wat Tyler. In this assessment, the aldermen of London were rated and charged as barons, and the mayor as a *right honourable* earl, which is a proof that this title was bestowed upon the mayor before this period, though the precise time cannot now be ascertained.

In the third year of Richard II. there was a trial by battle, in New Palace-yard, Westminster, between Sir John Annesly, Knight, and Thomas Catherington, Esquire. The former appealed the latter of treason committed beyond the seas, viz. that he, for a great sum of money, yielded up the castle of St. Saviour, in the isle of Constantine, in France, to the French, when as he might well have defended it, having sufficient of all provision, *in qua causa cum eodem armigero armorum lege obtulit se pugnaturum.* The matter was, upon divers doubts and obstacles, delayed in Edward's life-time, and not proceeded upon until this year when the combat took place, and the defendant was killed upon the spot.

Sir John Philpot soon had an opportunity of renewing his armament in a way more agreeable to the ministry. A powerful fleet and army being sent to the Duke of Bretagne against the French, Sir John, now mayor, hired a considerable number of ships at his own expense, and redeemed the armour and arms of upwards of a thousand soldiers, which they had been obliged to pawn to procure the necessaries of life.

Sir William Walworth succeeded him, in 1380, as chief magistrate of the city of London. In his mayoralty Wat Tyler's insurrection broke out, occasioned, as has been observed before, by the indecent behaviour of one of the collectors of the poll-tax to the daughter of this Walter Hilliard, a tyler, at Dartford, in Kent; by which the father was so enraged, that he knocked out his brains, and, engaging the populace on his side, he soon found himself at the head of a numerous body of men, who resorted to him from the adjacent villages.

These insurgents took the rout of Maidstone, and were there greatly encouraged and augmented by the preaching of one Ball, an excommunicated priest, imprisoned for sedition, whom they released from a long confinement in the county goal. Ball's text was,

When Adam delv'd, and Eve span,
Who was then a gentleman.

From which words he insisted, that all mankind were upon an equality in power and riches: and exhorted the insurgents to go to the king and demand liberty, and to use force, if it could not be otherwise obtained.

They accordingly chose Wat Tyler for their leader, who immediately obliged his followers to swear "to be true to King Richard and the commons of England; never to receive a king whose name was John (i. e. John Duke of Lancaster); to persuade their neighbours to join in the common cause; and never to submit to the payment of any other tax than a fifteenth."

From Maidstone the rebels marched to Blackheath, where their number was increased to a hundred thousand men, by the addition of insolvent debtors, run-away apprentices, and such vagabonds from Essex and other parts of the kingdom.

The professed object of the insurgents was to abolish all bad laws and customs, and they particularly declaimed against the intolerable exactions and corruptions of the lawyers, carrying their resentment so far as to murder every one of that profession they could meet with, and the nobility shared the same fate.

While they were encamped at Blackheath, they had the insolence to summon the king to come to their camp and hear their proposals. When this audacious demand was laid before the council, some of the counsellors were of opinion that the king's presence would be the only means of appeasing them, but this was strenuously opposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Sir Robert Hales, prior of St. John of Jerusalem, and lord high treasurer. Their opinion being adopted, the rebels quitted Blackheath, and entered Southwark on the tenth of June, 1380: they immediately broke open the King's-Bench and Marshalsea prisons, and, with the assistance of the prisoners, who joined them, proceeded to the houses of the lawyers, jurors, and questmongers, which they levelled to the ground.

Another part of them, composed principally of the Essex men, marched to Lambeth and destroyed the archbishop's palace and all its rich furniture, and all the books, registers, and writings, relating to Chancery affairs. The division that remained in Southwark destroyed the common stews or bawdy-houses along the bank-side, farmed by the city to Flemish bawds. The mayor, at first, shut the bridge-gate, to prevent the march of the rebel army into the city: but, next day, it was thought more adviseable to admit them, as the best means to prevent the destruction committed in the borough of Southwark. It was Corpus Christi day when these rebels entered the city; where they were accommodated with whatever the shambles and cellars could provide: and, being joined by the most dissolute of the citizens, they repaired to the Savoy, the Duke of Lancaster's palace, and at that time the most magnificent edifice in the kingdom; which they soon reduced to ashes, together with all the plate, jewels, and furniture in it.

The Temple was next sacrificed to their frenzy: it was destroyed by fire, and with it all the records, books, and papers; after which the other Inns of Court shared the same fate.

They now divided themselves into three bodies, one of which repairing to Clerkenwell, burnt the rich priory of St. John of Jerusalem; from whence they hastened to the seat of Sir Robert Hales, at Highbury, near Islington, which they likewise burnt and destroyed.

The second division having encamped at Mile-end, sent a message to the king, demanding a parley; and Richard, with the advice of his council, went to them, and asked their demands; which were as follows:

1. That thenceforward all his majesty's subjects should be free from servitude or bondage.

2. That there should be a general pardon of all manner of actions for debt, insurrections, treasons, felonies, transgressions, and extortions.

3. That all persons, from that day forward, should have full liberty to buy and sell in every county, city, borough, fair, market, and other place, within the realm of England.

4. That no acre of land held in bondage or service, should hold it for more than fourpence; and if it had been held for less in former times, it should not be enhanced in future.

The king having heard these, and several other demands, complied with them all, on condition of their immediate return to their own habitations, leaving a few of each parish, to receive the charters of freedom, which were drawn up with all expedition, and sealed the next morning.

This body having carried their point, immediately dispersed, and returned to their respective habitations; but in the mean time the third division of the rioters, which were encamped on Tower-hill, found means to enter the Tower, notwithstanding it was garrisoned by six hundred men at arms, and the same number of experienced archers, who had been placed there to defend the person of the king.

The insurgents having thus obtained entrance into the Tower, while the king was gone to the party at Mile-end, they entered the royal apartments, abused every person at their pleasure, kissed the queen-mother, and having seized the Archbishop of Canterbury and Sir Robert Hales, they dragged them out of the Tower and beheaded them.

Many arguments were used by the archbishop, to prevail on them not to embrue their hands in the blood of innocent men; but finding it in vain to remonstrate, he cheerfully submitted his neck to the axe; but no less than eight strokes were given before his head was severed from his body; after which the latter remained some hours before it was buried, and the former was carried to London-bridge, where it was fixed upon a pole.

In the mean time, Wat Tyler and his followers were committing the most horrible outrages and barbarities in London and Westminster. They murdered many eminent citizens, especially the Flemish merchants, who were said to be the projectors, as well as the farmers of the poll-tax; broke open the prisons; beheaded all concerned in the Exchequer, or in the law, or who were capable of writing a letter; and set fire to the city in different places.

The king having returned from Mile-end to the Tower, found his mother and some of his faithful counsellors had retired to the queen's wardrobe for safety; where his majesty having informed them of the success of his negotiation at Mile-end, it was resolved to propose the same terms to the rest of the insurgents.

In consequence of this determination no less than three different plans of accommodation were sent to, and rejected by, Wat Tyler; and from what follows it will appear that he had no intention of complying with any terms of pacification.

Hereupon Sir John Newton was sent to invite Tyler to a conference with the king in Smithfield, in order that such articles as he demanded might be inserted in the charter to be granted by his majesty: one of which conditions was, "that he (Tyler) should have a commission to behead all lawyers, escheators, and others, whosoever were learned in the law, or had any communication therewith;" that all the nation might receive their laws from his mouth only, as he had been heard to boast some days before.

After some debate, Tyler consented to follow Sir John to the appointed place, and proceeded slowly at the head of his army; but as soon as he came within sight of the king, he directed his confederates to keep at a distance, till he should give them a signal, whereupon they were to murder all the company, except the king himself, who was to be seized and imprisoned.

This being agreed on, Tyler set spur to his horse, galloped forward, and did not stop till he came close to the king, whom he addressed in the following terms: "Sir king, seest thou all yonder people?" "Yea truly," replied the king, "wherefore sayest thou so?" "Because," said he, "they be all at my command." "In good time," replied the king, "I believe it well." "Then," said Tyler, "believest thou, king, that these people, and as many more as be in London at my command, will depart from thee thus, without having thy letters?" "No," said the king, "ye shall have them; they be ordained for you."

At the time the king made this reply, Tyler observing Sir John Newton, who carried his majesty's sword, on horseback, arrogantly told him, that it would better become him to be on foot in his presence; to which Sir John replied, that he saw no impropriety in his present situation. Tyler was so incensed that he called him traitor, and drew his dagger, with intent to stab him: Sir John gave him the lie, and also drew his dagger, on which Tyler demanded the sword carried by Sir John, who replied, "No: it is the king's sword: of which thou art not worthy; neither durst thou ask it of me, if we had been by ourselves."

The rebel was so enraged at this reply, that he swore he would not eat before he had Sir John's life, and he was preparing to attack him, but the king, interposing, endeavoured to pacify the clown, whose demands were as extravagant as his deportment was rude.

At length his insolence reached such a pitch, that the king's friends represented the conduct of the traitor as being no less dangerous than intolerable, and advised his majesty to run the hazard of having him arrested. Richard was apprehensive of the consequences, but the exigence of affairs rendering the measure imperiously necessary, his majesty commanded William Walworth, mayor of London, to execute it, as being within his jurisdiction.

The gallant magistrate willingly obeyed this command, for, riding boldly up to the arch-rebel, he gave him such a blow with his sword upon the head, as brought him to the ground: and Sir John Sandwich and others hastening to Walworth's assistance, he was soon dispatched.

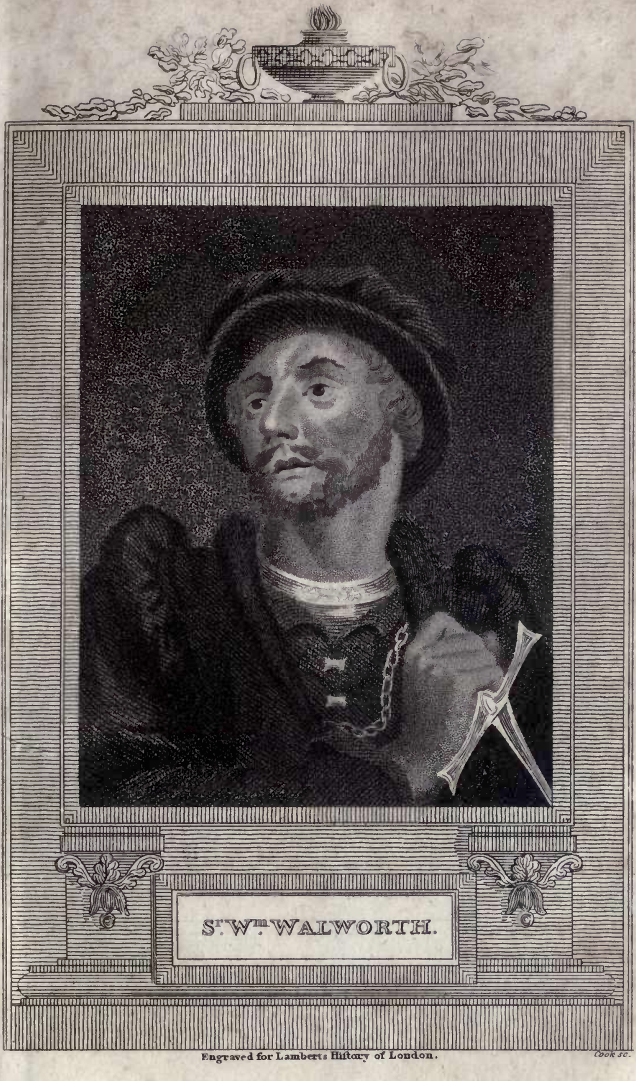
At the first sight of Wat's fall, the rebels cried, "Let us revenge his death;" and they immediately bent their bows. But the king, with a presence of mind and resolution above one of his age, made up to them and said, "What, my friends, will you kill your king? Be not troubled for the loss of your leader: I will be your captain, and grant you what you desire." Which had such an effect upon the rebels, that they marched under his conduct into St. George's Fields. In the mean time, Walworth and Philpot raised one thousand citizens, completely armed, and sent them so expeditiously under the conduct of the brave and experienced officer Sir Robert Knowles, to the king's assistance, that the rebels were struck with a panic, and threw down their arms, and begged for mercy, at the sight thereof. There was a second in command, whose name was Jack Straw. This rebel endeavoured to conceal himself in London: but he was, in a few days, detected in an eating-house there, and was tried and condemned by the lord mayor; and his head, and the head of Wat Tyler, were fixed upon London Bridge; from whence the archbishop's was taken down.

Jack Straw before his execution confessed, that it had been resolved, by him and his accomplices, to sack and burn the city of London in the evening of the day whereon Wat Tyler was killed.

Thus ended an insurrection which appeared pregnant with as much danger as any that ever happened in this country, either before or since, and on which Rapin makes the following judicious remarks:

"It is doubtless beyond the common course of the events of this world, that a single man, as the mayor of London, should dare to kill this leader, attended by thirty thousand men: it is still more surprising, that a young prince, but fifteen years of age, should have the presence of mind, and the resolution, Richard showed on this occasion, and that his boldness should produce so happy an effect: in fine, that so numerous a multitude, just glutted with blood and slaughter, should disperse on a sudden by a panic fear at the sight of a handful of armed citizens, is what cannot be considered without astonishment, and without ascribing the cause to him who holds the hearts of the people in his hands."

The king was so well pleased with the conduct and bravery of the citizens in this emergency, that he conferred the honour of knighthood upon William Walworth, mayor, and John Philpot, Nicholas Brembre,



Sr. Wm. WALWORTH.

Engraved for Lamberts History of London.

Cook sc.

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Brembre, and Robert Laund, aldermen, with a fee-farm rent of a hundred pounds per annum, to Sir William, and forty pounds per annum to each of the other three.

Many writers are of opinion that the *dagger* was added to the city arms in memory of the overthrow of the arch-rebel by the sword or dagger of the mayor.

Speaking of Sir William Walworth and this transaction, Stow says*, "True it is that this William Walworth being a man, wise, learned, and of an incomparable manhood, arrested Wat Tyler, a presumptuous rebell, upon whom no man durst lay hand, whereby hee delivered the king and kingdome from most wicked tyrannie of traytors. The maior arrested him on the head with a sounde blow, whereupon Wat Tyler furiously stroke the maior with his dagger, but hurt him not, by reason he was well armed: the maior having received his stroke, drew his basiliard, and grievously wounded Wat in the necke, and withal gave him a great blow on the head: in the which conflict an esquire of the king's house, called John Cavendish, drew his sword, and wounded Wat twise or thrise even to the death: and Wat spurring his horse, cried to the commons to revenge him: the horse bare him about 80 foote from the place, and there hee fell downe halfe dead, and by and by they which attended on the king environed him about, so as he was not seene of his companie: many of them thrust him in diverse places of his bodie, and drew him into the hospitall of S. Bartholomew, from whence again the maior caused him to be drawn into Smithfield, and there to be beheaded. It hath also been, and is now grown to a common opinion, that in reward of this service done, by the said William Walworth against the rebell, King Richard added to the armes of this citie (which was argent, a plaine crosse, gulas) a sword or dagger (for so they terme it) whereof I have read no such recorde, but to the contrarie. I find that in the fourth yeare of Richard the Second, in a full assembly made in the upper chamber of the Guildhall, summoned by this William Walworth, the maior, as well of aldermen as of the common counsell in every warde, for certaine affaires concerning the king, it was there by common consent agreed and ordained, that the olde seale of the office of the maioralty of the citie being very smal, old, unapt, and uncomely for the honor of the citie, should be broken, and one other new should be had, which the said maior commanded to be made artificially, and honourable for the exercise of the said office thereafter in place of the other: in which new seale, besides the images of Peter and Paul, which of old were readily engraven, there should be under the feet of the said images, a shield of the armes of the saide citie perfectly graved, with two lions supporting the same, with two sergeants of armes, an other part, one, and two tabernacles, in which above should stand two angels, between whom above the said images of Peter and Paule, shall bee set the glorious Virgine: this being done, the old seale of the office was delivered to Richard Odiham, chamberlaine, who brake it, and in place thereof, was delivered the new seale to the said maior to use in his office of maioraltie, as occasion should require. This new seale seemeth to bee made before William Walworth was knighted, for he is not here intituled Sir, as afterwards he was: and certaine it is that the same new seale then made, is now in use and none other in that office of the maioraltie: which may suffice to aunswere the former fable, without shewing of any evidence sealed with the olde seale, which was the crosse and sworde of Saint Paule, and not the dagger of William Walworth."

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* Survey, p. 221

The commencement and termination of this insurrection, though not ascertained with precision, may be gathered from three documents preserved in Rymer's Fœdera, relative to this event. The first is an order for adjourning the courts of judicature, upon account of it, dated June 15, 1381. The second, a proclamation to inform the people that the rebels did not, as they boasted, act by the consent or orders of the king, dated June 23. And the third, a revocation of the charter and amnesty granted to the rebels during their rebellion, because those acts were dispatched without mature deliberation, dated July 2, 1381. It is, therefore, certain that its duration did not exceed three weeks.

CHAP. XV.

The Mayor exerts himself to correct the Licentiousness of the Citizens.—Act to prevent victuallers from exercising judicial offices.—Foreigners allowed to sell Fish in London—The King's grant to the Constable of the Tower.—The City petition the King for a confirmation of their rights.—The Regalia redeemed.—The Parliament's petition in favour of the city liberties.—Charter of Confirmation.—The Mayor's proclamation.—Northampton's sedition.—The Magistrates again obliged to take the punishment of lewdness out of the hands of the Clergy.—The Wards first represented in Common Council.—Four thousand Marks lent to the King.—Sheriffs sworn before the Barons of the Exchequer.—The grant to the Constable of the Tower confirmed.

SIR William Walworth was succeeded in his office of lord mayor by John Northampton, who, observing that the bishops and their inferior clergy did not endeavour to check the licentiousness and irregularities which were but too prevalent in the city, took the reformation of these evils into his own hands, severely punishing the delinquents; and causing the common prostitutes to be carried through the streets with their heads shaved, and pipes and trumpets sounding before them. This proceeding met with great opposition from the clergy, who looked upon it as an infringement of their authority, and enjoined him to desist from such practices for the future, but in vain; for this magistrate, equally regardless of their commands and threats, continued to use his utmost exertions to remove these abuses.

This same magistrate procured an act of parliament, by which it was ordained that "no victualler should exercise any judicial office in London, or in any other city, borough, sea-port, or town in the kingdom, except in such towns where no other person could be found qualified for such an office;" in which case every such person was to "abstain from the exercise of such trade, during the time of his office, upon pain of forfeiting all the victuals he should sell during that time."

According to the meaning of this act, all butchers, grocers, and fishmongers, were rendered incapable of serving the office of mayor, as they were deemed victuallers.

He appears to have been a great enemy to the fishmongers' company, for, during his mayoralty, he procured an act of parliament, by which, all foreigners, in amity with the king, were allowed to sell their fish in London, and elsewhere, both by wholesale and retail; by which this company, which had been one of the richest, became one of the poorest: nor did his ill-will stop here, for he compelled them to acknowledge that their occupation was no craft, and therefore unworthy of being reckoned among the other mysteries.

King Richard II. in his sixth year, A. D. 1382, sent a letter to the mayor of London, to confirm the privileges belonging to the constable of the Tower of London. And, as this royal grant proved afterwards the cause of much contention between the constable and the city, it will be proper to give it at length:

"Richard, by the grace of God, king of England "and France, and lord of Ireland, to the mayor and "sheriffs of London sendeth, greeting: Forasmuch "as we have understood, that the constables of our "Tower of London, time out of mind, even to the

“ time now last past, and in particular John Darcy,
“ John de Beaucamp, Robert de Morle, Richard
“ de Vache, and Alan de Buxhill, hitherto constables
“ of the said Tower, have had the customs,
“ pence, and profits underwritten, by right belonging
“ to the aforesaid Tower; and in quiet manner
“ taking them by themselves, or their servants; to
“ wit, of every boat loaden with rushes, brought to
“ the said city, such a quantity of rushes, to be laid
“ upon Tower-wharf, as may be contained within a
“ man's arm: of every boat accustomed to bring
“ oysters, muscles, and cockles, to the aforesaid city,
“ one maund, thence to be brought and laid upon
“ the said wharf: from every ship laden with wines,
“ coming from Bourdeaux, or elsewhere, unto the
“ said city, one flagon before the mast, and another
“ behind the mast: whatsoever ship, barge, or boat,
“ or other vessel, which shall go loose by reason of
“ storm or wind, or the ropes and cordage being
“ broken, shall float from London-bridge to Gravesend,
“ or from thence to the said bridge, to be taken
“ by the constable of the said Tower, or his servants,
“ and to be applied to the use of the said constable:
“ what swans soever coming under the said bridge
“ towards the sea, or from the sea towards the said
“ bridge: all manner of horses, cows, oxen, hogs,
“ and sheep, which have fallen from the said bridge
“ into the water of Thames, which the aforesaid
“ constable, or servants, may take: any such-like
“ creature swimming through the middle of the
“ said bridge to the aforesaid Tower, which the same
“ constable or his servants aforesaid have taken: of
“ every foot of such-like creature feeding within
“ the ditch of the aforesaid Tower, one penny;
“ every cart, empty or laden, which shall fall into
“ the aforesaid ditches, as forfeiture or fee of the
“ constable; and that the aforesaid constables, as

" well those afore-named, as others, have used and " enjoyed the usages, under-written, from the time " beforesaid; to wit, that no cart empty or laden, " which shall fall into the aforesaid ditches, as forfeiture or fee of the constable; and that the aforesaid constables, as well those afore-named as others, " have used and enjoyed the usages under-written, from " the time beforesaid; to wit, that no cart, empty " or laden, ought to come from the end of the street " called Petty-wales, upon the said Tower-hill, nor " near the aforesaid ditch, to the high street, called " Tower-street, unless it be taken and brought within the said Tower; and that no cart shall pass beyond the bridge, between the ditch of the said " castle and the ditch of the hospital of St. Catherine's, without the licence of the constable of " the said Tower; and if it do, and break the bar, " that cart ought to be brought within the said " Tower, and to make satisfaction for the transgression, according to the said constable's will: We, " willing to maintain all and singular the rights and " liberties of our Tower aforesaid, that they " perish not, or be unlawfully taken away, command you, that you permit our beloved and loyal " Sir Thomas Marrieux, our constable of the Tower, " to take and have the customs, pence, and profits, " by himself and his servants, in form aforesaid, and " to use and enjoy the aforesaid usages freely, " without any impediment, as he ought to take " and have such customs, pence, and profits, and to " use and enjoy the aforesaid usages, as he and all " other constables of the said tower have reasonably accustomed to take and have those customs, " pence, and profits, and to use and enjoy the " aforesaid usages, from the time aforesaid; and " that by no means ye neglect this.

"Witness myself at Eltham, the 16th day of
"November, in the 6th year of our reign.
"By the king."

The citizens of London considered this grant to be an absolute violation of their rights, and, therefore, through the mediation of the parliament applied to the king for a confirmation of all their rights, liberties, free-customs, charters, &c. which was granted, with this clause in the seventy-third article, "That the constable of the Tower of London should make no prizes by land, nor by water, of victuals, or other things whatsoever, of the men of the said city, or going thence; or cause to be arrested the ships or boats bringing victuals, or other such-like goods, to or from the said city." Yet, the king, by the advice and consent of the same parliament, afterwards confirmed the above grant to the constable of the Tower, as will be shown in its place.

In the Fœdera* is a receipt of King Richard II. dated in 1382, to the city of London, for his crown and jewels now delivered up, which he had formerly pawned to that city for two thousand pounds. The crown contained upwards of four pounds weight of gold, and was adorned with diamonds, rubies, saphires, emeralds, and pearls; there was also a gold-hilted sword, and many other trinkets of gold, set with the like precious stones.

There was some reason to suspect a design in the court to infringe on the ancient prerogatives of London; for, in the year 1383, the parliament, with which the city kept in great credit, of its own accord, petitioned the king for a confirmation of their liberties. The petition is in French, and is in substance as follows:

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* Vol. VII. p. 359.

"The commons, in this present parliament as-
"sembled, pray, for the greater quiet and nourish-
"ment of the peace among his liege subjects, and
"for common benefit, that the citizens of London
"be entirely restored, in this present parliament, to
"their franchises and free usages; and that it would
"please his majesty, of his special grace, to grant
"and confirm to the said citizens, and to their suc-
"cessors, by his letters patent, all their liberties and
"free usages, as entire and full as they or their prede-
"cessors had enjoyed at any time by the favour of
"his noble progenitors, with the clause of *Licet usi*
"*non fuerint, vel abusi fuerint:* i. e. *Whether the*
"*same were not used, or ever abused:* in like man-
"ner with the franchises they did then enjoy by his
"own most gracious charter, and were confirmed;
"any statutes, judgments, surrenders, ordinances,
"or any charters or grants, of his majesty or his pro-
"genitors aforesaid, in time past made and granted,
"to the contrary notwithstanding, &c. To which
"King Richard II. answered, *Le roi le veut:* i. e.
"*so the king willeth.*"

In consequence of the royal assent, a charter was passed in this parliament reciting, by *inspeximus*, the several charters of confirmation, and others passed in the preceding reigns, by the Kings Edward II. and III. and Henry III.; as also the charter of confirmation of the city liberties, passed by himself in parliament, in the first year of his reign: and this his last charter of confirmation, in the seventh year of his reign, King Richard concludes thus:

"We forsothe the grauntys, yestis, confyrma-
"cyons, nor wynge and ordynauncis abovesayd.
"And alsoe all artycles and other thyngs, in all the
"chartours

"chartours and lytters abovesayd, as well ours as of "our progenytours aforesayd, whatsoever be contented, rehersed and opayned, havyng free hym, "all and syngler at the instaunce and request of the "commonalte of our realme of England, in our present parliament, for the more quyet and pese bytwayne our legis to be norished, and for the good "publyck, of the assent of the prelatis, lordis, and "perys by us beyng in the same parlement, for us "and our eyers, as moche as is in us. To the citezens of the same cite, her eyers, and her successours, citezens of the same cite, of our specyal "grace, by the tenor of this present lytters, we "graunt and confyrme, as the chartours and lytters "abovesayd playnly witnessed. Willynge thereupon, "and grauntyng, at the instaunce and request forsayd, with the assent forsayd, and also by this "chartour confyrmynge, for us and our eyers forsayd, to the citezens, her eyers, and her successours, citezens of the sayd cite, to all her fraunches "and free usages as hoely and fully be they restytuted, as they or her predecessours the time of "other our progenytours more fre and more ful hade "him. And thought the sayd citezens, or her predecessours, citezens of the same cite, any of the "fraunches, quitaunces, grauntys, ordinauncis, artycles, or free usagis, or of ony other thyngs in "the same chartours contayned, ony case fallyng "sythens have noughtful used, or ony quytaunces, "grauntys, ordynauncys, artycles, or free usagis, or "other, in the same chartours or lytters as it is aforsayd contayned, haply they have mysused; nevertheless the same citezens, her eyers and successours, citezens of the foresayd cite, all and syngular fraunches, quytauncys, grauntys, ordynauncys, "artycles, free usagis, and all manner other things "ther forsayd chartours and lytters contayned, or "not used, or also mysused, and eche of hym, from "hens forthe fully and freely they mowe anjoye and "use, without occasyon or lettyng of us, or of our "eyers, of justicis, schekers, sherefs, or other our "baylyfs, or mynisters, whatsoever they ben; ony "statutis or ordinauncis made, or domes gyven, or "ony of our chartours, or of our progenytours forsayd, in tymes passed made and graunted, to the "contrary notwithstondyng. Moreover, at the instaunce and request forsayd, we wol, and by this "our chartour conferme, that all maner wynes in "that forsayd cyte to be sholde, and also vytaylars, "as well fishmongers as others, in the cyte dwellyng, and to the same cite fro nowe forthwith "vitayles to come from hens forth, that he be under "the regiment and governaunce of the mayr and "aldyrmen of the same cyte, as they were wont to "be of olde tyme. Furthermore, not wyllyng that "ony mayers of the cyte forsayd fro nowe forth to "make ony other othe than in the tyme of our Lord "Kyng Edward the Thyrde, our ayal, he was wont "to make at our Scheker of our eyers, or other "places, in ony maner be compellyed to done or "make, ony statutes or ordynauncys in contrary "made nottwithstandyng.

"By this witnesse, worshypful Fader Wylliam, "Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. Gyven by "our hande at Westminster the xxvi day of "Novembre, the yere of our regne vii."

Soon after the passing of this charter it was set forth very fully in a proclamation, published by the lord mayor, by order of the king. This instrument, which is of considerable importance to posterity, is in Latin; the following is a faithful translation of it:

A Proclamation made in the mayoralty of Nicholas Brembre, Knight, mayor, on Friday after the feast of the B. V. Mary, and in the seventh year of the reign of Richard II. concerning the liberties lately granted to the citizens of London, by the lord the king in his parliament, and also concerning certain ancient liberties renewed by the lord the king, and newly confirmed to the said citizens by his royal charter.

"It is proclaimed, on the part of the lord our "king, and of the mayor of the city of London, by "virtue of the confirmation and concession made by "the said lord the king, concerning the liberties and "ancient customs of the said city, as well by charters of the kings of England granted unto them, as "without charters, that it may be made known to "all foreigners concerning the following liberties of "the said citizens, especially touching as well the "said foreigners as the citizens of the city aforesaid:

"So that no summons, attachments, or executions, be made by any ministers or officers of the "lord the king, or of his heirs, either with or without a warrant, within the liberties of the city aforesaid, but by the officers of the city only.

"Also the same lord our king hath, out of his special grace, by his charter, granted and confirmed, "as will fully appear by having recourse to the said "charters and letters, the gifts, grants, confirmations, innovations, and the ordinances aforesaid; "and also all the articles, and all other and every "thing contained, recited, and explained in all the "charters and letters, as well of him the lord the "king, as of any of his progenitors; ratifying and "granting all and each thereof, at the instance and "request of the commons of the realm of England

" in his last parliament, for the nourishing greater " quiet and peace among his liege subjects, and for " the public good, and by and with the assent of " the prelates, lords, nobility, and great men, assisting " him in the said parliament, for himself and his " heirs, as much as in him lies, to the citizens of the " aforesaid city, and to their heirs and successors, " citizens of the same city.

" Also the same our lord the king has further " granted, at the instance and request as aforesaid, " and by the assent aforesaid, and also by his own " charters confirmed, for himself and his heirs aforesaid, " that the aforesaid citizens and their successors, " citizens of the city aforesaid, shall be as entirely " and fully restored to all their liberties and " free-customs, as ever they or their predecessors " have at any time more freely and fully enjoyed the " same under the predecessors of him the lord the " king.

" Also the same lord our king, willeth, that, " though the same citizens, or their predecessors, " citizens of the city aforesaid, have not on any occasion " whatsoever, hitherto fully used any or either " of the liberties, acquittances, grants, ordinances, " articles, or free-customs, or other things granted " in the said charters or letters, or perhaps, have " abused any or all of the acquittances, grants, ordinances, " articles, or free-customs, or any other " things in the same charters or letters, as aforesaid, " contained; nevertheless the same citizens, their " heirs and successors, citizens of the city aforesaid, " may for the future fully enjoy and use all and singular " the liberties, acquittances, ordinances, articles, " grants, free-customs, and whatsoever else is " contained in the same charters and letters aforesaid, " whether the same were not used, or perhaps " abused, and every one of them, without let or

" impediment, of the same the lord the king, or of " his heirs, justices, escheators, sheriffs, or of any " other, his bailiffs or ministers whomsoever; any " statutes or ordinances published, or judgments " given, or any charters of the same the lord the " king, or his progenitors aforesaid, in times past " made and granted, to the contrary notwithstanding."

The citizens were highly gratified by this royal grant, and more particularly the fishmongers, whose ancient rights and liberties were restored, except the liberty of holding a court; all affairs being, according to this charter, to be transacted in the mayor's court.

Soon after this, John Northampton, the late mayor, who appears to have been a man of a very turbulent disposition, raised great tumults in the city, by assembling large numbers of people, and walking through the streets in a riotous manner.

Brembre, the mayor, exerted all his authority to prevent any ill consequences that might arise from these irregularities; and in the necessary exertion of this authority, one Constantine, a shoe-maker, being apprehended for encouraging the populace to espouse the cause of Northampton, was immediately carried before the magistrates at Guildhall, where he was tried and convicted, partly on his own confession, and partly on the evidence of others, and beheaded soon afterwards.

About the same time Northampton was impeached by his own chaplain, of being the principal actor in the late sedition, and of conspiring against the king and government; and being carried before a convention of the nobility at Reading, he was sentenced to be imprisoned for life, and all his effects to be confiscated to the king's use; which sentence was carried into execution by his imprisonment in the castle of Tintagel in Cornwall.

About this time King Richard II.* fixed the prices of wine, by retail, as follows: Rhenish, Gascogne and Spanish wines, at sixpence per gallon, in London and other towns; and when sent into the country for sale, the price not to be raised above one halfpenny per gallon for every fifty miles, land carriage.

According to Thomas Walsingham, in the year 1383, the Londoners again invaded the discipline of the church, by taking the punishment of fornication and adultery into their own hands; to which the magistrates said they were forced by the negligence and partiality of the clergy and spiritual courts, who connived at licentiousness for a bribe; wherefore, they said, they would themselves purge their city from such filthiness, lest, through God's vengeance, either the pestilence or sword should happen to them, or that the earth should swallow them.

In the same year, petitions were presented to the mayor, at a great meeting of the commons, or common-hall, setting forth that *for want of sufficient persons chosen*, divers things were passed in common-council, more by clamour than reason. To remedy this grievance for the future, several articles were proposed to be tried, and if found useful and necessary, to be confirmed: one of which articles was, that the common-council might consist of sufficient people; and it was determined that, for the future, four persons should be chosen out of each ward, under the inspection of the alderman, to represent the said ward in the court of common-council.

By this regulation the wards of the city became, for the first time, represented in the common council,

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* Fœdera, Vol. VII. p. 377.

cil, the members of that body having formerly been chosen by the mysteries or crafts, some of which sent six, others four, and others only two.

Having carried this measure into effect, Brembre managed so, that most, if not all, the aldermen were turned out by the common-council, and new elections took place in the respective wards. The first return begins thus: "Bread-street. *Dominus* Nicholas Brembre, *Miles electus est in Alderman. Wardæ prædictæ, per* probos homines *ejusdem wardæ;*" i. e. "*Bread-street.* Sir *Nicholas Brembre*, Knight, is chosen alderman of the before-named ward, by the *discreet men* of the said ward." Which proceedings and elections were confirmed by a warrant from the king, dated the 8th of March, at Westminster, An. reg. 7mo.

The new method of chusing common council-men being found more advantageous for the well-governing of the city, the mayor, aldermen, and common-council, in whose court the citizens had established their corporation, and power to enact what should seem to them, in common-council assembled, most beneficial for their good government, did, in the said court, on the 31st of July, in the same year, make this regulation in regard to the choice of the common-council, viz. That they should be chosen by the wards fifteen days after St. Gregory; and that the inhabitants should chuse those who had served the year before, or others. And further, that the common-council should be assembled once a quarter, or oftener, to consult and take care of the affairs of the city. And, in the following year, the number being found inadequate, it was resolved, confirmed, and settled, that each ward should chuse four, six, or eight, according to its extent.

In this year the citizens of London lent the king four thousand marks, for the security and repayment of which, he gave the mayor and commonalty of the city an obligation, under the broad seal.

The interference of the king in city elections was soon followed, viz. in 1385, by requiring the sheriffs to be sworn before the barons of the Exchequer. The case, as it appears in Madox's History of the Exchequer, was as follows:

John Gysors, the mayor, together with the aldermen and citizens, presented to the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer, Hamon Godcheap and William de Buddle for sheriffs; but, when required by the barons to take an oath for their good deportment, the mayor replied, that the persons presented by them to that office, were not obliged, nor ought they, to take an oath concerning the exercise of their office any where but before the mayor and aldermen of the city; and that, since the first concession made to the citizens of chusing the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, and of discharging them at pleasure, it had not been known that ever any such oath had been taken, except once, when the city was seized in the hands of Edward I. Therefore, they prayed, that the said Hamon and William might be admitted to the said office upon their presentation, according to custom.

To which it was answered, that although it belonged to the citizens, by virtue of their charters, to chuse sheriffs of London and Middlesex, and to present them at the Exchequer; yet the persons so chosen were not exempt from taking the aforesaid oath, unless a particular exemption in that behalf were granted by the king; therefore the mayor, &c. were told by the treasurer and barons, that, unless the said Hamon and William took the oath, they could by no means accept of, or admit them for sheriffs, without the king's special command, although they did not thereby impeach or make void the said election; and that, if the said persons should presume to execute the office of sheriffs, without being sworn as aforesaid, it would be at their peril.

This mortification was not the only one the citizens experienced at this time, for notwithstanding the late confirmation of their charters in parliament, the constable of the Tower continued to demand the customs and profits annexed to his office in the sixth year of this reign; a privilege so prejudicial to the city, that it was resolved to petition the king to revoke the grant; but, instead of redress, they found it was confirmed at the request of the constable, not only by the king, but by the parliament, as appears by the following record:

"We, with the advice and assent of the prelates "and other noblemen in our parliament, have graciously consented on our part to the aforesaid supplication of the constable, according to his petition. "And therefore we command you, that, on your "part, ye take care that all and singular the liberties "and franchises belonging to our said Tower be "published, proclaimed, and pronounced distinctly "within your city aforesaid, and its suburbs, in such "places as shall be most proper: And that we will, "that our said Tower may enjoy and use the liberties and franchises aforesaid, in the form aforesaid; "the liberties and franchises granted by us to the "said citizens and the commonalty notwithstanding: "And that ye permit the said constable to have and "receive, by himself or by his servants, the rights and profits aforesaid, belonging unto the said Tower.

"Witness myself at Westminster, the twenty-"second of November, in the ninth year of our "reign."

By petition granted by the king himself in parliament. *Et erat patens.*

This, however, proved a bone of contention for several ages, till the reign of King James I. when the affair was settled by his majesty in favour of the city.

CHAP. XVI.

CHAP. XVI.

An Invasion threatened.—The King's Order for putting the City in a posture of defence.—Establishment of the Guild of Linen-Weavers.—Conspiracy against the Duke of Gloucester.—A Deputation sent to the King.—One of the Citizens makes a Reply to the King's evasive Answer.—The Duke of Ireland sent into Wales to raise an Army.—Is Defeated.—The King takes refuge in the Tower.—The Baron's Manifesto.—Execution of Sir Nicholas Brembre.—Proclamation for cleansing the Streets of London.—A Merchant of London established as Consul in Prussia.—Grand Tournament in Smithfield.—Orphans' Fund.—Splendour of the Court.—The City Magistrates suspended and fined.—Restored on the payment of Ten Thousand Pounds by the City.—Riot in Fleet-street.—The King's return to London.—Foreign Merchants restrained in their Commerce.—Acts of Parliament relative to cleansing the City, and to the punishment and choice of Magistrates.—Farringdon divided into two Wards.—Quota of each Ward to a fifteenth.—Westminster Hall completed.—Regulation to prevent Frauds in malt.—Complaint of the Graziers.—Justing on London-bridge.—Reception of the new Queen.—Blackwell Hall purchased.—A Loan from the City.—Review on Blackheath.—Farther Oppressions.—The Duke of Lancaster invited over.—Richard sent prisoner to the Tower.

KING Richard having permitted the strength of the kingdom to quit it in support of the pretensions of his uncle, the Duke of Lancaster, to the crown of Castile, Charles VI. of France thought this a convenient opportunity to make an attempt on England, and accordingly assembled an army of one hundred thousand men, and a fleet of thirteen hundred ships, for this purpose. Froisart, describing this mighty armament, says, "since God created the world, there never had been so many great ships together." During the alarm created by this immense preparation, Richard, in 1386, sent the following writ to the city of London.

"The king to his beloved the mayor and aldermen, and the rest of the citizens of London, sendeth health. Know ye, that as well the walls and other defences or forts of the said city be old and weak, and, for want of repair, are fallen down in some places; as also the ditches of the said city are exceedingly filled with dirt, dunghills, and other filth, and with grass growing in the same, not only to the evident danger of the said city and inhabitants thereof (and chiefly at this present time of war), but also to the manifest disgrace and scandal of us and the whole city, &c."

And, for the more effectual repairing the same, the king impowered the mayor and citizens to take, not only of merchandize, but also of all sorts of victuals brought to the city, a certain toll (as King Edward I. had done before, A. D. 1276) for the term of ten years. Whereupon, the citizens set heartily to work about repairing the wall and bulwarks, cleansing the ditch, and demolishing several houses, &c. adjoining to the walls, to prevent the French from finding any shelter, should they come that way. But the danger passed over, and the citizens abandoned their works of defence.

In this year the company or guild of linen-weavers, consisting of those who had been brought from the Netherlands by Edward III. were established; but they were much molested by the weavers' company of London, and never arrived to any considerable degree of success.

About this period the king's favourites, Robert de Vere, and Michael de la Pole, had gained such an ascendancy over his majesty as occasioned great uneasiness between him and his subjects. De Vere had been created Duke of Ireland, and de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, and Lord High Chancellor.

These worthless minions, unsatisfied with the exorbitant degree of power they possessed, and apprehensive that they could not totally engross the royal confidence during the life of the king's uncle Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, entered into a conspiracy to destroy him, and some other persons of eminence, whom they considered as their enemies.

In order to carry this scheme into effectual execution, they treated with Nicholas Exton, mayor of London, whom they endeavoured to prevail on to invite the duke and his friends to sup in the city, at the house of Nicholas Brembre, the late mayor, who was in the secret; and, when the glass had circulated freely, to assassinate them all.

The mayor heard their proposal, but, detesting so foul a deed, he acquainted the Duke of Gloucester of the intended villainy, by which he was put upon his guard and the horrid project defeated.

The duke, from a principle of revenge, and to spirit up the people to lay their complaints against the favourites before the king, industriously propagated a report throughout the nation, that the ministers intended to levy a general poll-tax of a noble a-head.

This report produced the intended effect; for the citizens of London immediately deputed proper persons to wait on the Duke of Gloucester, to request him to assume the government of the kingdom, and to bring to justice all its internal enemies, who had burthened the people with intolerable taxes, and had endeavoured to aggrandize themselves at the public expense.

This solicitation the duke thought proper to decline; urging, as a reason for so doing, that it would be impossible for him to redress their grievances, while the ear of the king was so totally engrossed by his favourites: but he advised the citizens to engage the other cities and towns to address his majesty respectively, beseeching him to remedy their grievances; and he promised them that he would be sure to attend the king on St. George's day following, when they should find him and his brother ready to assist them.

At the time prefixed, a deputation of sixty of the principal citizens of London, accompanied by deputies from many other towns and cities, attended the king, who at that time resided at Windsor.

When the king was informed of their arrival, he would have declined seeing them; but, through the mediation of the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and the Earl of Salisbury, he was at length prevailed on to grant them an audience.

As soon as they were introduced to the king, Sir Simon Sudbury, in behalf of the rest, acquainted his majesty with their grievances, and humbly intreated that a parliament might be speedily summoned, for calling to an account all such as had misbehaved in the administration of public affairs and to substitute in their stead men of worth and probity.

To this the king gave an evasive answer, saying, their supplications were so long that he could not at that time consider them; but desired they would bring their requests at the ensuing Michaelmas, when he would communicate them to the parliament that would then be held at Westminster, and what was judged reasonable should then be granted to them; but that his subjects should never be his masters by prescribing to him; for he could not perceive that either himself or those about him had ever intended any thing else but right and justice.

On this one of the zealous deputies boldly replied, that, "With humble submission to his majesty, justice was never less practised in England than at present; and that, by the subtle management of certain persons, it was impossible for him to come at the truth of things, seeing the ministers found it their interest to conceal from him the management of his affairs, as much as possible: in consideration of which, they did not think it consistent with their interest, nor that of the kingdom, to wait the meeting of the parliament, seeing a speedier remedy might be applied, by calling to an account those plunderers who had embezzled the public treasure; and to inquire how those immense sums, raised for nine years past, had been applied: and that all those who could not discharge themselves honourably, should stand to the judgment of parliament."

The king, surprised at this bold and unparalleled speech, turned to his uncles, his brother the duke of York, and the nobility, and asked their opinion, who all declared, that they could not see any thing unreasonable in this demand of the commonalty of his realm. Whereupon, the parliament was appointed to meet at Westminster, on the third day of May following, to inquire into the state of the nation.

To avoid, however, the consequences of a parliamentary inquiry, the favourites prevailed on his majesty to attend them to Bristol, from whence he dispatched the Duke of Ireland to raise forces in Wales, with a view to reduce the citizens of London, and his uncles, who were supported by them, to obedience.

The Duke of Ireland succeeded so well in his embassy, that in a short time he assembled fifteen thousand men, with whom he marched towards the metropolis; but the Duke of Gloucester, at the head of a very considerable army, chiefly Londoners, engaged him at Oxford, and obtained a complete victory.

When his majesty received advice of the defeat of his favourite, he resolved to take up his residence in the Tower of London, and there wait the issue of this civil war. On his approach near the metropolis, he was met by a great number of citizens on horseback, richly dressed, who escorted him to the cathedral church of St. Paul, and thence to his palace at Westminster, whither he was persuaded to return, from an assurance of the citizens that their opposition was not to him, but to the minions who had usurped his confidence.

The king had not been long at Westminster before he received advice that the army of the barons were on their march from Haringaye (now Hornsey) park towards London; on which his favourites prevailed on him not to rely on the fidelity of the citizens, but to take refuge in some place of greater security to his person.

His majesty, therefore, retired to the Tower, from whence he issued a proclamation, forbidding any person whatever from supplying the forces of the barons with any kind of arms, ammunition, or provisions, on pain of death.

The confederate barons, in consequence of this proclamation, published the following manifesto, addressed to the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London, signed by the Duke of Gloucester and the Earls of Arundel and Warwick.

"That they, the lords above-mentioned, were, and always would be, obedient and loyal subjects to the king; yet that the mayor, aldermen, &c. should not wonder at the cause of their assembling in such a manner:

a manner: that they thought good to let them know that it had been ordained by the king in the last parliament, that certain lords, thereunto appointed and sworn, were to have the governance, of the king's council and realm, for the honour and profit of both, for the term of one year; which government had been, and was then disturbed and interrupted by Alexander, Archbishop of York, Robert Vere, Duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, that false justice, and Nicholas Brembre a false knight of London, every one of them being traitors to the king and kingdom: who falsely and traitorously, by their wicked advices and conduct of the king's person, had carried him into divers remote parts far from his council, to the ruin of him and his realm; and falsely counselled him, contrary to their oaths, to do divers things in disinheritance and dismembering of his crown, he being nigh to lose his heritage beyond sea, by their means, to the great infamy and destruction of the whole nation; and had also wickedly made several differences between the king and the lords of his council, so as some of them were in great fear and danger of their lives as they had lately informed the king, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of York, the Bishops of Winchester and Ely, and several other lords. Wherefore, to redress these grievances and to punish those traitors according to law, they were now assembled, requiring and charging the mayor and citizens, by virtue of their allegiance, that they should make proclamation through the whole city, that this was their true intent, and no other; and for the honour, profit, and safety, of the king and all his loyal subjects, they would be aiding and assisting with all their power, to the said lords, not favouring or aiding the said traitors, or any of them as they tendered the honour of God, the king and the kingdom, and the safety of the city; and that they neglect not this advice, as they desire to avoid the dangers that may happen in time to come." And concluded with "demanding their resolution in this matter on the Friday following, the 15th of November, 1386."

The citizens in general approved highly of the contents of this manifesto; and, without deliberation, directed Nicholas Exton, the mayor, to deliver the keys of the city to the Duke of Gloucester; and likewise supplied the army of the barons with plenty of provisions of every kind.

On the meeting of the parliament, Sir Nicholas Brembre, who was to have been made Duke of London if the king's favourites had carried their point, was found guilty of high-treason, in consequence of which he received sentence to be hanged, and was accordingly executed at Tyburn; by which, and other well-timed acts of justice, the king was induced to make such concessions to his injured subjects, as put a period to the calamities of a civil war.

In the year 1389, the streets of London were so filthy, that, by order of the parliament, a proclamation was issued, ordaining, "that no person whatsoever should presume to lay any dung, guts, garbage, offals, or other ordure, in any street, ditch, &c. upon the penalty of twenty pounds, to be recovered by an information in chancery."

By this time the English merchants trading to, and residing in, the ports of Prussia, and in other of the Hans towns, were become so numerous, and their commerce so considerable, that King Richard, at their request, confirmed their election of John Babys, a merchant of London, to be governor of all the merchants of England in the lands, places, and dominions, therein named. This office of governor answered very nearly to the more modern name of consul.

In the year 1390, Richard, being twenty-two years old, declared himself in council to be of full age to assume the powers of royalty; which being readily admitted by the council, he, on this occasion, appointed a grand tournament to be held in Smithfield, on Sunday after Michaelmas day. Proclamation being made for this purpose, a great number of noblemen and gentlemen from France, Germany, and the Low Countries, came over to participate of that royal entertainment.

The procession began on Sunday in the afternoon from the Tower, by a grand cavalcade of sixty ladies, richly dressed, who, riding upon white horses, led every one her knight by her side (all armed and on foot) by a chain of silver, their coursers being led before by as many esquires of honour; in which manner they passed through Cheapside to Smithfield, where the justs were to be held.

As soon as they arrived at the appointed place, the knights, mounted on their horses, began the tournament by running at one another with their lances, thirty on a side, the king and queen looking on from scaffolds made on purpose. And the next day the king, richly armed, justed himself, in the presence of the queen and the ladies of the court.

In this manner the justs continued for four days, from noon till night, and every evening concluded with a magnificent repast and entertainment of music and dancing, in which the queen, her ladies, and many of the young nobility, were principal performers.

The first mention of the orphans' fund of the city of London we meet with, is in the year 1391, in Knighton's Chronicle; who relates, that a great dearth of provisions happening, the mayor took two thousand marks out of the orphans' fund for purchasing of corn from beyond sea for the benefit of the poor; and to that sum twenty-four aldermen added twenty pounds each, for the same charitable purpose.

In the following year the city of London fell under the displeasure of the king and his council, under pretence of certain misdemeanors and transgressions; but the true ground of the royal anger was the refusal of the citizens to advance the king loans of money to support his enormous extravagance. He is said to have maintained six thousand persons daily in his palace; in his kitchen alone three hundred, and a proportionate number in the queen's apartment. Others make his household amount to ten thousand persons; but all authors agree, that he kept the most splendid court of any English king since the conquest; even his inferior servants were richly clad, so that the infection of extravagance spread amongst the people, and, in the end, brought on this king's ruin. We find, in the Fœdera,* that Richard suspended the magistrates of London from their offices, and fined them in three thousand marks, and the city in so large a sum as one hundred thousand pounds: yet, in the same year, he restored the magistrates, and forgave both these mulcts on condition of the city's paying him ten thousand pounds in lieu of all demands; which sum was actually paid, as appears by that king's acquittance in the same volume.

The circumstance which was thus made use of for extorting this sum from the city, is related by Cuxton, Fabian, and others, as follows:

A baker's servant carrying a basket of bread by the Bishop of Salisbury's house, in Fleet-street, a servant of the bishop's took a loaf out of the basket, and wounded the baker in his attempt to recover it.

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* Vol. VII. p. 735.

The populace, hearing the circumstance, determined to revenge this atrocious robbery and insult, and attempted to secure the offender in order to bring him to justice; but his fellow-servants rescuing him, took him into the house, and refused to deliver him up, though a constable was sent to demand him; which so exasperated the mob, that they threatened to set the house on fire, if he was not immediately produced.

The mayor, aldermen, and citizens, hearing of this dangerous riot, hastened to Fleet-street, where, with great persuasion, they at length prevailed on the people to disperse, without proceeding to any extraordinary acts of violence.

This affair would have ended happily here, had it not been for the Bishop of Salisbury, who, instead of chastizing his servant for so unjustifiable a proceeding, immediately went to the king, and made heavy complaints against the citizens, telling him, it was not only the highest indignity offered to the church, but it would likewise endanger the state, if the citizens were permitted to go on with impunity.

Richard gladly laid hold of this opportunity to proceed against the citizens in the manner stated above, and he also removed the courts of justice to York, to which city he and the principal nobility withdrew.

At length, having shown the citizens the necessity of at least a temporary compliance with his will, he signified his intention of returning.

On his arrival at Sheen, he was met by four hundred citizens on horseback, richly dressed in one sort of apparel, with the recorder at their head, who, in an ingenious speech, humbly begged pardon for past offences, and earnestly intreated his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to honour his chamber of London with his presence, which he condescending to, they attended him to St. George's church, in Southwark, where he was received by a solemn procession of the clergy and five hundred boys, in surplices, with the Bishop of London at their head. Whence he proceeded to London-bridge, where he was presented with a stately courser, richly trapped with a golden brocade, and his queen with a stately white pad, with a very rich furniture. Never was the city so richly embellished as on this occasion; for the citizens of all ranks strove to outvie each other, for the honour and entertainment of their reconciled sovereign; and all the streets, through which the cavalcade passed, were lined by the city companies in their formalities; the conduits all the while running with variety of wines, and the populace with loud acclamations incessantly crying, King Richard for ever.

At the standard in Cheapside was erected a very magnificent pageant, whereon was placed a boy in white apparel, representing an angel, who, upon the king's approach, presented him with wine in a golden cup, and put on his head a rich crown of gold, most curiously garnished with a variety of precious stones and pearls of an inestimable value, and likewise another on the head of the queen. And thence riding to St. Paul's church, he made an offering. After which, he was conducted to his palace of Westminster, by the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, who, the day after, presented Richard with two gilt silver basons, and in each of them a thousand nobles of gold, together with a curious picture of the Trinity, valued at eight hundred pounds. They also presented him with a silver tablet for an altar, gilt with gold, with the story of St. Edmund the confessor, worth one thousand marks, besides other gifts of great value.

In return for these costly presents, Richard, to gratify the city in their constant ill-judged aversion to merchant-strangers, repealed their chief privileges, depriving them of the liberty of selling any kind of merchandize, except provisions, which they were not to sell by retail, but by wholesale only, and that to English subjects.

The parliament, which now was held at Winchester, enacted, "That all the filth of a certain lay-stall upon the bank of the river Thames be forthwith removed; and, for preventing the like for the future, the butchers of London were, before the ensuing Easter, to erect a house or houses, in a proper place, fit for the reception of all their ordure, whence it was to be carried in boats into the middle of the said river, and there to be thrown in at the turn of the tide at high water; and that no person whatsoever should presume to throw any muck, rubbish, laystage, or other ordure, in at the sides of the Thames, or lay any filth or nastiness on the banks of the same, between the Palace of Westminster and the Tower of London, upon the penalty of ten pounds." It was also enacted, for the security of the city liberties against future attempts of a court, "That it was not the king's meaning or intent, nor the meaning of the statute made in the 28th of Edward III. that the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, that have been, now are, or hereafter shall be, should incur the penalty contained in the said statute, for any erroneous judgment given, or to be given, in the said city." However, this parliament left them answerable for all defects respecting the government of the city. It was further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, "That, from thenceforward, the aldermen of the city should not be chosen annually, but remain in their offices during their good behaviour. And that the great ward of Farringdon should be divided into two wards, and have two aldermen."

This parliament likewise ordained what proportion the said wards should pay towards raising a tax called a fifteenth; whereby, it appears that the sums to be paid into the Exchequer by the respective wards, were as follows:

	L.	S.	D.
The ward of Cheap	72	0	0
The ward of Vintry	35	5	0
The ward of Queenhithe	20	0	0
The ward of Baynard castle	12	0	0
The ward of Cordwainer's-street	72	0	0
The ward of Bread-street	36	10	0
The ward of Farringdon without	34	10	0
The ward of Farringdon within	53	6	8
The ward of Aldrychgate	7	0	0
The ward of Cripplegate	39	10	0
The ward of Cripplegate without	10	0	0
The ward of Bassyngshawe	7	0	0
The ward of Coleman-street	19	0	0
The ward of Walbrook	39	0	0
The ward of Dowgate	34	10	0
The ward of Brydge	49	10	0
The ward of Byllingsgate	31	10	0
The ward of the Tower	45	10	0
The ward of Portsoken	9	0	0
The ward of Aldgate	5	0	0
The ward of Lime-street	2	0	0
The ward of Bishopsgate	21	10	0
The ward of Broad-street	25	0	0
The ward of Cornhill	16	0	0
The ward of Langborne	20	10	0
The ward of Candlewick-street	16	0	0

About this time Richard II. finished the rebuilding of the present great and noble hall at his palace of Westminster, by which stately edifice, some judgment may be formed of the taste of this age in architecture, as well as of Richard's great magnificence.

The next parliament, A. D. 1394, empowered the mayor of London to search all malt brought to the city, to prevent the great frauds of the country maltsters; so that the buyer might have eight bushels of clean malt to the quarter.

On the other side we read, that the mayor and sheriffs were ordered to attend the council, and answer to a complaint exhibited by the country graziers coming to Smithfield market, who accused the city officers of extorting from them every third beast brought by them to that market. But it does not appear that they were in any wise punished for so doing.

Stow, in his Survey, says, that in the year 1395, on St. George's day, there was a great justing on London-bridge, betwixt David, Earl of Crawford, of Scotland, and Lord Wells of England; in which Lord Wells was, at the third course, borne out of the saddle, "which hystorie proveth, that at that time the bridge being coaped on either side was not replenished with houses builded thereupon, as since it hath beene, and now is."

Queen Anne having died without issue, Richard was advised to engage in a second marriage, and, the council having proposed Isabella, eldest daughter of the King of France, a negotiafion was immediately entered into, which being shortly concluded, the young princess, then in the eighth year of her age, was espoused by the Earl of Northumberland, Richard's proxy.

The summer of 1396 was spent in making magnificent preparations for Richard's journey to France, whose design was, under pretence of going there to wed his queen in person, to take the opportunity of concerting measures with her father for overcoming the opposition of his nobles, which began to assume a menacing appearance.

Previous to the marriage, which was celebrated at Calais on the first of November, the two kings had a meeting between Ardres and Calais, where every thing was settled to their mutual satisfaction.

Five days after the ceremony the royal couple set sail for England, which they reached in perfect safety.

The Mayor of London, being informed that the king was arrived at Dover with his young consort, went to Blackheath to meet them, attended by the aldermen, and a number of the principal citizens, mounted on horseback, and dressed in an uniform cloathing, each of them having on their sleeves a symbol of their respective mysteries, richly embroidered.

The recorder having addressed their majesties, in the name of the citizens, with compliments of congratulation, the royal pair were conducted to the palace at Kennington; from whence the little queen (as she was called) was carried to the Tower of London, with great pomp and magnificence; on which occasion, the spectators were so numerous, that nine people lost their lives on London-bridge. The next day her majesty was conducted to the king's palace, and was crowned at Westminster, the 7th of January, 1397.

Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, upon his visitation at London, in the year 1397, revived the old constitution for the inhabitants of their respective parishes within the city, to pay to their rector one penny in the pound, out of the rent of their houses, in lieu of tythes, as had been ordained by Simon Niger, formerly Bishop of London.

This year the mayor and commonalty of London purchased the house called Blackwell-hall, and converted it into a market-house for the sale of woollen cloth; for which purpose it has been used ever since.

We learn from the Fœdera,* that, in this year, Richard had again recourse to his former method of taking loans from his nobility, gentry, clergy, and towns. The sum thus procured from the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of London, amounted, on this occasion, to ten thousand marks. He also with a view to ascertain the strength of the city in case of new troubles, of which he was apprehensive, ordered the citizens to be mustered on Blackheath, where he reviewed them, and expressed the greatest satisfaction at their numerous and formidable appearance.

In the year 1398 the citizens of London petitioned the king to take off the heavy taxes that had been imposed for the support of the war with France; and, as a connexion was now formed with that kingdom, that no treaty might take place for the restitution of Calais.

The king was so irritated at this freedom taken by the Londoners, that he compelled many of the most eminent citizens to sign and seal a number of blank papers, which were afterwards filled up with such sums as the ministry thought proper to appoint.

By these, and other oppressive measures, Richard became, at last, so universally odious to his subjects, that Henry, son of John of Gaunt, late Duke of Lancaster, and grandson to Edward III. was, by the principal nobility and citizens, invited from France, where he was then an exile, to come over and deliver the nation from slavery.

The duke readily accepted the invitation, set sail, and landing at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, was quickly joined by the nobility and gentry of those parts, and by persons of all ranks on his march southward; so that his army, in a few days, increased to sixty thousand men. With these he hastened to London; wisely concluding, if the capital should declare for him, he would have nothing to fear from the king or his adherents. The citizens received their deliverer with open gates, hearts, and hands (supplying his army with a superfluity of all sorts of provisions), expressing their joy with magnificent shews, solemn processions of the clergy, and loud acclamations of the people.

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* Vol. VIII. p. 9.

The duke, having his interest greatly strengthened by the accession of this potent and opulent city, thought he might safely march thence to secure the western parts of the kingdom, where Richard, soon after, arrived with his army from the reduction of Ireland. But the king, being soon deserted by most of the great men about him, thought proper to accept of the terms offered him by the Earl of Northumberland, on behalf of the Duke of Lancaster, which the earl solemnly swore to see performed: nevertheless he perfidiously seized upon the king's person, carried him prisoner to Rothland Castle, and thence to that of Flint; and there delivered him to the duke, who brought the king to London.

At the duke's approach to London with his prisoners, he was received in great pomp by the mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and all the several companies in their formalities, with the people incessantly crying, Long live the good Duke of Lancaster our deliverer! And the duke, having secured the king in the Tower of London, went to St. Paul's church to return thanks to God for his great success.

CHAP. XVII.

CHAP. XVII.

Richard deposed.—Henry IV. crowned at Westminster.—Popular acts of government.—Conspiracy against Henry.—Prompt assistance of the Citizens in crushing the Rebellion.—Charter relating to the Custody of the Gates, the Customs of Markets, and tronage.—Reception of the Greek Emperor.—Guildhall built.—The Tun converted into a Conduit.—Naval armament.—William Sautree burnt.—Act for sealing woollen cloths.—Statutes relating to foreign Merchants.—Contest between the Goldsmiths and Cutlers.—The conservancy of the Thames adjudged in favour of the City.—Charter to the Company of Merchant-adventurers.—Dreadful Plague.—Affluence of Whitington.—A Play at Skinner's Well. Tournament in Smithfield. Henry's household expenditure.—Riot in Eastcheap.—Cold Harbour granted to the Prince of Wales.—Another Martyr executed in Smithfield.—The Merchants of London injured by the Genoese.—State of foreign Commerce.—Ten thousand Marks lent to the King.—Early trade with Morocco.—Death of Henry IV.—His body thrown into the Thames.

When Henry had thus got Richard into his power, his next care was to take such steps as should procure him the crown, to which he was not entitled even in the event of Richard's death. For this purpose many consultations were held among his friends, who were unanimously of opinion that Richard must be deposed, and this, considering the dislike of the people of all ranks to him, was no difficult task. It was at length resolved to submit Henry's pretensions to the decision of parliament; and being backed with an army of sixty thousand men without doors, and a numerous party within, there can be no surprize at their success. Accordingly,

ingly, in a parliament assembled in Richard's name, a writing under his hand was produced, by which he confessed himself unworthy of the crown: upon this, he was formally deposed by them, and Henry declared king.

His coronation took place at Westminster, on the 13th of October, 1399; after which a splendid entertainment was provided in Westminster-hall, at which the mayor and aldermen, in their formalities, were admitted to their seats next the sideboard, in right of the office of Chief Butler of England.

The parliament meeting the day after the coronation, several good laws were passed in favour of the city of London; and the king gave orders that all the blank papers which had been extorted from the citizens by Richard II. should be burnt at the Standard in Cheapside.

The same parliament repealed an act passed in the 27th year of King Edward III. by which it had been ordained, that, "the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, in default of the good government of the city, were to be tried as delinquents, by a foreign inquest, to be taken out of the counties of Kent, Essex, Sussex, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Berkshire; and who, upon being found guilty, were to pay a thousand marks for the first default, two thousand for the second, and for the third, to forfeit the franchises of the city to the king."

It was also enacted, that the merchants of London should have the same liberty of packing their cloths as foreign merchants had within the city; and all fishermen, in amity with the king, as well foreign as domestic, were allowed the privilege of retailing their fish in the city, to all persons whatsoever, exclusive of fishmongers.

This, and other popular acts of government, endeared the new king to his subjects in general, and the citizens of London in particular; the latter of whom soon had an opportunity of testifying their gratitude for the favours received, as will appear by the following circumstance.

Several of the principal noblemen, who had been disgusted at the deposition of Richard II. having formed a conspiracy to assassinate the king; his majesty was no sooner informed of it than he hastened to London; and, acquainting the mayor with the circumstance, commanded him to raise the citizens, which was obeyed with such expedition, that, in a very short time, six thousand of the Londoners were assembled, completely armed, and ready to march at the command of his majesty.

The king, having been informed that the conspirators had been at Windsor, with an intent to surprise him there, marched from London at the head of the citizens, and as many auxiliary forces as made his army twenty thousand, to Hounslow Heath, where he waited the approach of the rebels.

The appearance of the royal army struck such a terror in the rebels, that they immediately retired; and the Duke of Surrey and Earl of Salisbury, two of the principal insurgents, being taken at Cirencester, the army was dispersed; and the rest of the ring-leaders being soon made prisoners, were tried, condemned, and executed; by which the rebellion was totally suppressed.

Henry was so well satisfied with the ready assistance of the citizens on this occasion, that he was determined to give them some testimony of his gratitude: he therefore granted them a charter, date the 25th of May, in the first year of his reign, wherein is contained the following clause;

"And moreover, of our ample grace, we have granted for us and our heirs, as much as in us is, to the same citizens, their heirs and successors, as aforesaid, that they shall have the custody, as well of the gates of Newgate and Ludgate, as all other the gates and posterns of the same city; and also the office of gathering of the tolls and customs in Cheap and Billingsgate and Smithfield, there rightfully to be taken and accustomed; and also the tronage, that is to say, the weighing of lead, wax, pepper, alum, madder, and other-like wares, within the said city for ever."

Towards the close of the year 1400, Emanuel Palæologus, the Grecian Emperor, arrived in England, to solicit succours against Bajazet, Emperor of the Turks. He was met by the king and nobility in great state at Blackheath, who conducted him to London; where he was received by the mayor, aldermen, and citizens, in a very pompous manner.

Stow says, "Thomas Knoles, grocer, mayor, 1400, with his brethren the aldermen, began to new build the Guildhall, in London; and, instead of an olde little cottage in Alderman-berie street, made a faire and goodly house, more neare unto St. Laurence church, in the Jurie."

In the year 1401 the citizens of London converted the prison called the Tun, in Cornhill, into a conduit, for the reception of water which was brought in leaden pipes from Tyburn: and on the side of this conduit they erected a cage, with a pair of stocks over it for the punishment of night-walkers; together with a pillory, in which dishonest millers and bakers were exposed to the scorn of the public. It does not appear whether this conduit was supplied from the same springs as those spoken of under the years 1237 and 1285; or whether it was made necessary by another supply of water from a different part of this manor.

In the Fœdera, vol. VIII. p. 172, is an order to arm against the French, who were making preparations to assist the Welch. It is dated January 11th, 1401: and among other things it directs certain great towns to fit out barges and balingers for sea service. From the record we learn that these vessels excelled all other kinds of ships in time of war, for the guard of the seas, and of merchandize, but their precise nature is not now known. It is probable, however, that the fitting them out was very expensive at that time, since two, three, or even four towns in land as well as seaport, are in many instances ordered to provide one in common; nor is any city or town ordered to find more than one, London excepted, which was to furnish one of each sort.

In page 178, of the same volume, is an order, dated at Westminster, February 26th, 1401, to the mayor of London, for burning William Sautree, a heretic under sentence of death. The doctrines of Wickliff had spread greatly about this time, notwithstanding a very vigorous opposition from the clergy, who, however, were unable to prevail on the parliament to concur in the persecution of his followers. But Henry, having but a dubious title, and, for that reason, courting the clergy, who, he knew, had great power to support him, an act of parliament was procured for burning of obstinate heretics, as the Wickliffites, or Lollards, were construed to be. Accordingly this unhappy man, who had been parish priest of St. Osyth, in London, formerly in Syth Lane, was selected to be the first victim of persecution for conscience-sake in England; and, so eager were the clergy in using this diabolical instrument of conviction to unfixed minds, that, without waiting for the promulgation of the act of parliament, they proceeded to try, condemn, and execute their devoted object. This bloody statute was not repealed until 1677.

A statute passed in 1402 directs a seal of lead to be affixed to all woollen cloths made in London and its suburbs, for preventing frauds in the sale of them. We may observe that, in those times the clothing trade was very much carried on in and near London; but the prices of provisions, labour, &c. increasing with the increase of our commerce, the clothiers, for cheapness, removed first into the counties adjacent to London, as Surrey, Kent, Essex, Berkshire, Oxfordshire &c. and in process of time, to a still greater distance, viz. into the counties of Dorset, Wilts, Somerset, Gloucester, Worcester, York, &c.

Wherever luxury increases there will naturally be an increase of the importation of foreign merchandize. That this was the case in Henry's unsettled reign is evident from the many laws passed for regulating the conduct of foreign merchants, who were then the principal importers of foreign luxuries. Among other coercive statutes passed in 1403 was one to compel foreigners to sell their commodities in three months after landing them; but it was scarcely made a law until its impolicy became so obvious, that it was repealed in the following year, "saving always the franchises and immunities of the city of London." These, however, were also doomed to give way before the powerful influence of commerce, for we find that in the same year, the Italian merchants of Genoa, obtained from parliament a grant of the privilege of bringing their merchandize to London, through the port of Southampton, without paying scavage to the city; and instead of being obliged to employ city factors or brokers in the sale and purchase of goods, they were enabled to transact business for themselves, and in all actions of debt were to be tried before the king's council, mayor, or aldermen of London, according to the laws of merchants, and not by inquest.

In the year 1405 a contest happened between the companies of goldsmiths and cutlers, with regard to certain privileges, claimed by the former, of inspecting all the gold and silver work made by the latter. At length the goldsmiths appealed to the parliament, and by the authority of the king the affair was referred to the mayor of London, who having carefully examined into the affair, reported, that according to the ancient immunities of the city, the cutlers had a right to work in gold and silver; but that all things made by them were to be assayed by the goldsmiths: whereupon the goldsmiths' charter was confirmed by parliament, and additional privileges were granted.

The encroachments made on the river Thames, by a great number of wears erected between Staines and the river Medway, by the fishermen and others, being of great detriment to the fishery and navigation of the said river Thames, Sir John Woodcock, mayor, and conservator of the said river, ordered the said wears to be destroyed, and the nets that were seized and forfeited to be burnt: for which, Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, and others, claiming a property in the said river, brought their actions, which was adjudged in favour of the city charter for the conservancy of the river Thames.

In 1406 King Henry acquainted the mayor and sheriffs of London, "that it had been agreed in the present parliament, that the merchants of our kingdom shall have the guard of the seas, from May this year, till Michaelmas of the following year."

In this year the English company of merchant-adventurers, then known by the name of the Brotherhood of St. Thomas a' Becket, obtained a charter from the king. This charter, however, gave them no exclusive powers, but merely authority for the regulation of their own concerns, and to chuse a governor. Yet this charter had a proviso, that any man paying the *haunce*, or freedom fine of an old noble, about eighteen shillings of modern money, might freely consort and trade with them.

A most dreadful plague broke out among the inhabitants of the city, in the year 1407, which raged to so great a degree as to destroy thirty thousand of the inhabitants in a very short time; which considerably lessening the consumption of bread, reduced the price of wheat to three shillings and sixpence the quarter.

Money growing more plentiful, because commerce daily, though imperceptibly, increased, we now find King Henry was able to borrow more considerable sums of the merchants than of the clergy, or nobility, which could not be done in former reigns. Thus, in negotiating a loan for paying the garrison of Calais, it appears, from the Fœdera,* that while the Bishop of Durham could only advance one hundred marks; the celebrated Whittington, of whom so many vulgar, traditional, and improbable stories are told, lent a thousand pounds. He also rebuilt the gaol of Newgate, the library of the Grey Friars, part of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and a college of priests in the street, now called College-hill.

In the year 1409, history informs us that the company of parish clerks of London acted a play concerning the creation of the world, which they repeated eight days successively, at Skinner's-well, near Clerkenwell, with great applause.

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* Vol. VIII. p. 488.

From the play the company retired daily to Smithfield, where a tournament was held between the marshal and gentlemen of Hainault, and the Earl of Somerset and several other English gentlemen; in which victory declared so much in favour of the English, that they all came off conquerors except one.

The Fœdera* contains a declaration from the king, that the sum of six thousand five hundred pounds in the whole shall be appropriated out of certain duties for the expense of his household for about four months, out of which one thousand one hundred and sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence is to be out of the subsidy on wool and leather, the duty of three shillings per ton on wine, and one shilling in the pound on other merchandize received in the port of London.

In the year 1410 a riot happened in this city, of which our historians relate the following particulars: The princes Thomas and John, sons of the king, being at an entertainment in Eastcheap, a dispute arose between their highness's servants and some others belonging to the court, during which it was said that some insult was offered to the princes.

The mayor being informed of the riot, immediately repaired to the place, attended by the aldermen and sheriffs, who exerted themselves effectually to restore the peace. But, notwithstanding this spirited and well judged conduct, the king issued a writ, appointing commissioners to inquire into the cause of the tumult, who summoned the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs before them; when the chief justice, Gascoyne, advised them to make submission to the king, in behalf of all the citizens.

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* Vol. VIII. p. 610.

This they refused to do; and, conscious of their own innocence, vindicated themselves with so much spirit, and so strict a regard to truth, that the king appeared fully satisfied with their conduct, and they were discharged with honour.

This year a writ of privy seal was issued, by which King Henry granted to his son, the Prince of Wales, a magnificent building in Thames-street, called Cold Herburgh, or Cold Harbour, probably so denominated from its bleak situation on the bank of the river. The place on which this stately fabric then stood, is now Cold Harbour-lane, in the ward of Dowgate.

In the month of March of this year was exhibited another instance of the intolerant spirit of the times. One John Bradby, alias Badby, a taylor, or, as some say, a smith, a sincere votary of the doctrine inculcated by the celebrated Wickliff, having been convicted before Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, of what was then called heresy, was sentenced to be burnt to death in Smithfield.

This unhappy man was conveyed to the place of execution in a cask, and Henry Prince of Wales, being present on the occasion, offered him a free pardon, on condition of his recanting before the fire was kindled. This offer Bradby rejected; on which he was tied to a stake, in the cask, and the fire being lighted, the flames soon reached his body, which occasioned his crying out in a most piteous manner.

The young prince was so affected by this circumstance, that he gave orders to take him instantly out of the fire, renewed the offer of a pardon on the conditions above mentioned, and even promised to allow him a pension of three pence per day, in consideration of the injury he had already sustained by the fire.

This offer likewise the resolute martyr rejected; upon which he was re-conducted to the flames, which soon put a period to his life.

In the year 1412, in consequence of the Genoese having maliciously done great damage to certain merchants of London, King Henry issued his mandate to the mayor and sheriffs of London to make proclamation, that none of his subjects do presume to suffer any merchandize or money by exchange, &c. belonging to the Genoese, to be sent beyond sea, until satisfaction be made for those wrongs.

In the same year Henry complained to King John, of Portugal, of the ship Thomas of London, of two hundred tons burthen, being violently seized in the port of Lisbon; she having, besides the commander, a merchant and purser *(bursæmagister)* belonging to her. Her lading, taken in at Lisbon, was oil, wax, and sundry other wares, valued at six thousand gold crowns.

From these circumstances some idea may be formed of the state of the foreign commerce of London at that period. They are a strong proof that its trade had become of such importance as to require the interposition of government whenever it was impeded by jealous rivals; and, at the same time, show that something in the nature of an embargo was resorted to as a means of compelling restitution for injuries done to it. With respect to the Portuguese trade, it may be remarked that formerly wine was not in such abundance in that country, as in modern times; and, as our kings still retained Guienne, from whence we had long brought large quantities of wine, we need not be surprised at the omission of that article in the cargo.

In the same year, Henry borrowed ten thousand marks of the mayor and commonalty of London, towards his expedition to Guienne, which was to be repaid out of the tenths and fifteenths from the counties.

We find the first mention of Englishmen trading to Morocco, in the year 1413. In this year, it seems, a company of London merchants had laden several ships with much wool, and other merchandize, to the value of twenty-four thousand pounds, towards the western parts of Morocco, without naming a port. But some Genoese ships, emulous of this commerce, made prize of those London ships outward bound, and carried them into Genoa. Whereupon, King Henry granted the sufferers reprisals upon the ships and merchandize of Genoa wherever they could find them.

On the 20th of March, 1413, King Henry IV. died suddenly while he was paying his devotions at the shrine of Edward the Confessor, in Westminster-abbey. His body was conveyed by water to Feversham, and from thence by land to Canterbury, and there solemnly interred.

This is the account of Henry's interment given by all the English historians, but from a Latin manuscript in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, a translation of which is published in the tenth volume of the Annual Register, it appears that instead of the body being conveyed to Feversham it was thrown into the Thames, between Berkingham and Gravesend.

CHAP. XVIII.

CHAP. XVIII.

Accession of Henry V.—Whitlock's Conspiracy.—Case of Sir John Oldcastle.—Removal of Nuisances in the Thames.—Genoese Embassy relative to the Injury done to some London Merchants.—The News of the Battle of Agincourt arrives on Lord Mayor's Day.—Moorgate built.—Henry's pompous Entry.—Reception of the Emperor Sigismund.—First Lighting of the City.—Loan of Ten Thousand Marks to the King.—Proclamation relative to the Iceland Cod-fishery.—Compulsory Loan from the foreign Merchants.—Holborn Paved.—Leadenhall Built.—Whittington serves the office of Lord Mayor for the Third time.—State of the Coinage.—Statement of the Revenue and Expenditure.—Reparation obtained from the Genoese.—Death and Funeral of Henry V.

On the death of Henry IV. his eldest son was immediately proclaimed king, by the name of Henry V.

This prince had received a finished education at the university of Oxford, and though he had been subject to the follies of youth, maturity now erased their impression, and he ascended the throne with every merit that could adorn royalty.

Being thus elevated, and sensible of the attraction of the public eye, he abandoned his former courses, and discarded his dissolute companions; but, at the same time, made such provision for his old associates, as enabled them to live with decency.

Such conduct afforded Henry's subjects the happy omen of his future government, which he began with a general amnesty, and an appeal to heaven, that he would rather chuse to be removed from life, than exercise a tyrannical sway over his people.

He was crowned on the ninth of April, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and increased his popularity by restoring purity to the courts of justice, and displacing many judges and others who had perverted their power to the injury of the subject.

Notwithstanding he ascended the throne under the most favourable auspices, he could not escape the envy and hatred of some individuals. A conspiracy was formed against him by one Whitlock, who endeavoured to foment a rebellion by posting papers in public places, containing affirmatives that Richard II. was still alive.

As soon as his majesty was informed of this conspiracy, he sent an order to Thomas Falconer, Mayor of London, to shut the gates of the city, and to apprehend all suspicious persons. In obedience to which the mayor issued his orders to the aldermen, each of whom kept a strong guard in his respective ward. An information having been received that some of the conspirators were to meet at the Axe Inn, without Bishopsgate, the mayor, attended by a proper guard, went there about midnight, and apprehended John Borgate, a carpenter, and seven others, who, being examined, made a ready confession of their guilt.

The incendiary Whitlock was apprehended, and committed prisoner to the Tower, from whence he escaped by the connivance of the constable, who, being supposed to have projected the conspiracy, was dismissed from his office, and one of the wardens, convicted of having favoured the prisoner's escape, was executed as a traitor.

Many others were apprehended and committed to Newgate, where the number of delinquents was so great as to cause a dreadful pestilence in the gaol, by which the keeper and turnkey, and sixty-four of the prisoners, lost their lives.

Soon after his accession to the throne a convocation was held at St. Paul's, London, in which, by the king's direction, the festival of St. George was ordered to be kept with greater solemnity. In it also the clergy held a serious consultation how to destroy the Lollards, who, notwithstanding the two dreadful examples of the last reign, continued to spread greatly.

Sir John Oldcastle, who bore the title of Lord Cobham, in right of his wife, being considered as the principal leader of the sect, was marked out as the victim on this occasion, and was consequently, though much against Henry's will, carried prisoner before the Ecclesiastical Court, and, on his examination, denying some of the tenets of the Catholic religion, was condemned to suffer death as a heretic.

He, however, found means to escape from the Tower, though probably, not without the connivance of the king, of whom he was a great favourite, and who was not yet prejudiced against the Lollards.

The clergy were raving mad when they found that their burnt-offering had got out of their clutches; and, being satisfied that while Henry retained his opinion of the sect, all their endeavours would be vain, they laid a plan to prejudice this prince against them, and against Oldcastle in particular.

Accordingly, news was brought to the king at Eltham, that the Lollards, with Oldcastle at their head, were assembled in St. Giles's Fields to the number of twenty thousand men; that their design was to kill the king, the princes, his brothers, and most of the lords, spiritual and temporal, with many other circumstances calculated to excite Henry's resentment. He, therefore, immediately collected what force he could, and proceeded to St. Giles's Fields, where he arrived about midnight, and there found seventy or eighty men, armed, thirty of whom were killed on the spot, and most of the others made prisoners. It is highly probable that this was one of those secret meetings at which they worshipped God in the way they thought most acceptable to him, and that their being armed was from an apprehension of being molested.

However this may be, Henry was prejudiced against them from that time, and issued a proclamation, with a reward of 500 marks to any one who should discover Oldcastle, and 1000 to the man who should take him. At length he was taken, in the year 1407, while the king was in France, and burnt alive, being hung by a chain fastened round his middle. The execution took place at the new gallows, afterwards called Tyburn, on Christmas day. Had Henry been in England it is highly probable our annals would not have been disgraced by this event, for it is evident from the number of pardons granted to those apprehended in St Giles's, that his eyes were soon opened to the nefarious deceit which had been practised on him; and this is still further confirmed by the circumstance of no search being made after the other leaders, which a conspiracy of such a number of men must have had, had it ever existed.

Many public nuisances being again set up in the river Thames, the city petitioned the parliament, in 1414, for the removal of all kiddals, wears, fishgarths, stanks, milnes, stakes, and all other machines whatsoever, in the rivers of Thames, Medway, and Lea: whereupon the mayor and citizens were empowered rigorously to execute all the statutes in force against all such offenders; and that in all commissions relating to the office of water-bailiff, the mayor or custos always to be one.

This parliament revived the bill brought into the House of Commons in the late reign, for secularizing or seizing upon the ecclesiastical benefices. But the bishops found means to ward off the blow, by persuading the king to reclaim the French dominions formerly subject to the crown of England, and to use all the power of his crown to recover them; which had its desired effect.

In the same year Genoese ambassadors came to England, to treat about the satisfaction to be made for the merchandize unjustly taken from the London merchants, as mentioned in the preceding chapter. And a licence was granted by King Henry V. to Olbert Tonsun, a Genoese, living in London, to import merchandize to the value of three thousand pounds, and to export merchandize of the same value, paying the usual customs, provided the said Tonsun do reside with William Unet, citizen and woollen-draper, of London, and not elsewhere in that city.

Lord Mayor's day, in the year 1415, was accidentally rendered most solemn, by the advice of his majesty's victory over the French, at Agincourt, which was delivered by one of the king's messengers to Nicholas Wotton, as he was riding to Westminster to qualify himself for the high office of mayor. In his return from Westminster, accompanied by the Bishop of Winchester, the lord high chancellor, &c. they proceeded to St. Paul's cathedral, and attended the *Te deum*, sung with great solemnity. And next day the queen, nobility, clergy, mayor, aldermen, and several guilds or fraternities, formed a solemn procession, and went on foot from St. Paul's cathedral to Westminster abbey: where this illustrious company made a great oblation at the shrine of Edward the Confessor, and returned in a triumphant manner.

Moorgate was this year built by Thomas Falconer, late mayor, for the convenience of the citizens to repair to the fields and neighbouring villages. The king soon after returning from France, with great numbers of the French nobility, his prisoners, was met on Blackheath by the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, in scarlet robes, attended by three hundred of the principal citizens, mounted on stately horses, richly accoutred; and, at St. Thomas of Watering, he was met by a solemn and pompous procession of the London clergy, with rich crosses, magnificent copes, and massy censers; and the city, on this joyful occasion, was embellished, in a very sumptuous manner, with rich tapestry, containing the glorious actions of his majesty's illustrious predecessors; with a beautiful variety of stately pageants, in some of which sat very amiable children, dressedin imitation of angels, chaunting praises to the eternal king; to whom Henry, justly and humbly, ascribed all the honour and glory of the late great victory. During this magnificent cavalcade, the city conduits ran with divers sorts of wine, for the entertainment of the populace; and, the day following, the mayor, aldermen, and citizens, presented the king at Westminster with one thousand pounds in gold, in two rich basons of the same metal and value.

The citizens also, for the honour of their king and country, received the Emperor Sigismund, who came into England, out of a pious design, to make peace between England and France, in the like magnificent manner. He was met on the road to London, on the seventh of May, at Blackheath, by the mayor, aldermen, and many of the principal citizens, on horseback, gorgeously apparelled; who conducting him to London, were met at St. Thomas of Watering (Fabian says, at St. George's, Southwark)

Southwark), by the king and principal nobility; whence they brought him to the city, where he was received in a very pompous and stately manner.

In the mayoralty of Sir Henry Barton, the streets were first ordered to be illuminated by hanging lanterns before the houses.

King Henry having determined upon a second invasion of France, we learn from Sir Robert Cotton that his ordinary revenue being unequal to the payment of his troops, he was compelled to pawn his jewels for money; he also obtained several loans this year from different communities and individuals, and among the rest, ten thousand marks from the mayor and commonalty of the city of London, to be paid the year following out of the subsidy on wool in the port of London; by which it is evident that there was still a vast annual exportation of wool.

It appears from an order inserted in the Fœdera* that the merchants of London had thus early engaged in the cod-fishery on the coasts of Iceland. By it the sheriffs of London are enjoined "to make proclamation, that none of our subjects do, for one year to come, presume to resort to the coasts of the isles belonging to Denmark and Norway, more especially to the isle of Iceland, on the account of the fishing, or any other reason, to the prejudice of the King of Denmark, otherwise than has been *anciently* customary."

In the following year King Henry, being still in great want of money for maintaining his army, exercised a despotic authority over the foreign merchants of Florence, Venice, and Lucca, who were, by an order of council, compelled to make a loan of money to the king: "because," says the order, "they enjoy, by the grace and sufferance of the king, great privileges, and get great profits by their commerce in England."

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* Vol. IX. p. 322.

England." And such as refused to lend were committed to the Fleet Prison.

Corn was this year so dear as to sell for sixteen shillings the quarter.

Holborn was first paved in 1417, as appears from an order in the Fœdera*, in which King Henry V. taking notice, "that the high-way named Holborn, in London, was so deep and miry that many perils and hazards were thereby occasioned, as well to the king's carriages passing that way, as to those of his subjects; he therefore ordained two vessels, each of twenty tons burthen, to be employed at his expense, for bringing stones for paving and mending the same." This shows the gradual improvement of London's suburbs.

In 1419, Sir Thomas Eyre, who had filled the chair of chief magistrate of this city, moved with compassion at the great distress the poor were frequently driven to by a deficiency of corn, built Leadenhall at his own sole expense, and gave the same to the city, to be employed as a public granary, for laying up of corn against such times of scarcity. He also founded a chapel on the east side of this structure, in which William Rouse, John Risby, and Thomas Ashby, priests, did, by a licence from King Edward IV. found a fraternity of the Trinity, consisting of sixty priests, besides other brethren and sisters; with an obligation for part of them to perform divine service every market day, for the benefit of those who frequented the market. But this foundation was first alienated for the use of the common beam to weigh wool, and for a public market for many foreign commodities; afterwards, we find it converted into an armoury, or sort of common repository of the military utensils belonging to the city; and in its present state, Leadenhall is divided into warehouses, one for selling of leather, another for

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* Vol. IX. p. 447.

Colchester baize, another for wool, &c. and the area thereof is a meat, and hide, and leather market.

This is the year in which Sir Richard Whittington filled the office of lord mayor for the third time.

King Henry, having concluded a peace with the king of France, by which he obtained his daughter Catharine in marriage, and having effectually settled every thing in that country, returned to England with his royal consort in 1420. The mayor, aldermen, and a great number of the principal citizens, mounted on stately horses, most sumptuously apparelled, met their majesties on the road, and conducted them to the city; where they were received in a very magnificent manner.

The state of the coinage in this reign may be learnt from Stow, who says* that "in the year 1421, was granted to Henry V. a fifteenth to be paid at Candlemas and at Martinmass, of such money as was then current gold or silver, not overmuch clipped or washed; to wit, that if the noble were worth five shillings and eight pence, then the king should take it for a full noble of six shillings and eight pence; and if it were of less value than five shillings and eight pence, then the person paying that gold to make it good to the value of five shillings and eight pence: and if the noble so paid be better than five shillings and eight pence, the king to pay again the surplusage that it was better than five shillings and eight pence. Also this year was such a scarcity of white money, that though a noble were so good of gold and weight as six shillings and eight pence, men might get no white money for them."

An estimate of the public revenues and ordinary expenses, probably intended to be submitted to parliament, is preserved in the Fœdera,† by which it appears that the annual revenue amounted to

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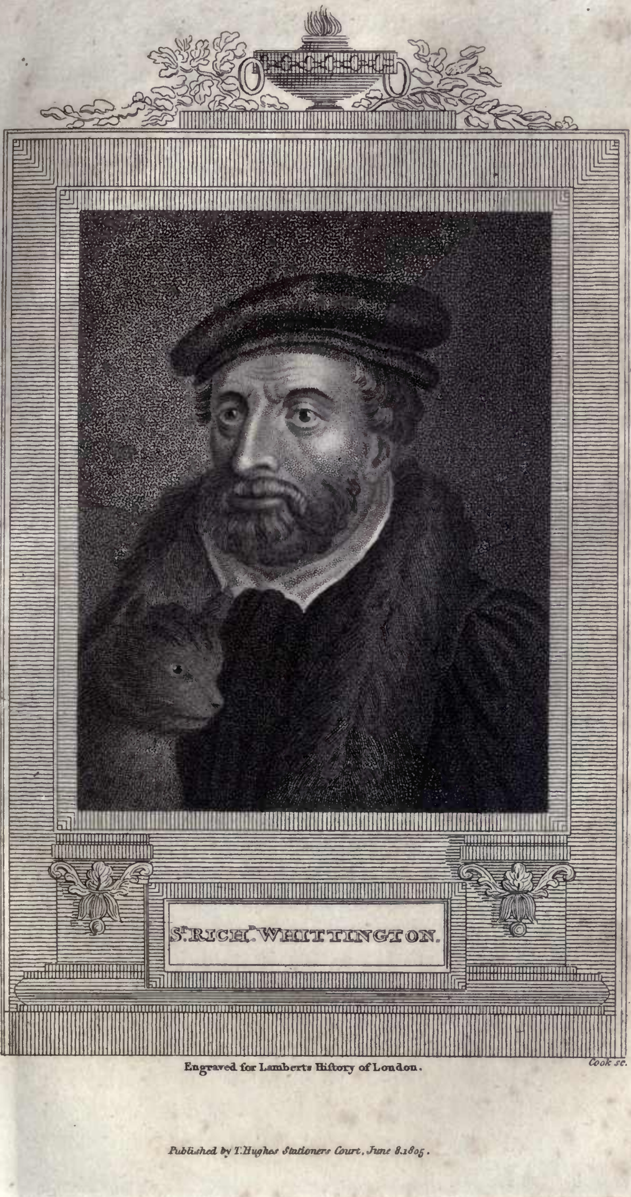
* Survey, p. 55

† Vol. X. p. 118.



S^{r}. RICH^{D}. WHITTINGTON.

Engraved for Lamberts Hiſtory of London. *Cook sc.*

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fifty-five thousand seven hundred and fifty-four pounds ten shillings and ten pence farthing, and the expenditure to fifty-two thousand two hundred and thirty-five pounds sixteen shillings and ten pence halfpenny, leaving a number of articles unprovided for, and many debts unpaid. It is worthy of remark that the duties on wool alone, amount to upwards of thirty thousand pounds more than half the revenue.

The same volume gives us * a treaty with Genoa, by which the Genoese pay six thousand pounds to William Walderne and company, merchants of London, for the loss of their merchandize, &c. on account of which they had letters of reprisal granted to them.

On the thirty-first day of August, 1422, King Henry V. died in France, from whence his corpse was brought to England, and carried through London in a pompous manner, on an open chariot, drawn by four horses, to St. Paul's cathedral, where the funeral obsequies being performed, the body was taken to Westminster, and deposited among the remains of his royal progenitors.

At this funeral, James, King of Scotland, assisted as chief mourner, and was attended by the princes of the blood, almost all the nobility, and the principal gentry of the kingdom.

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* Fœdera, Vol. X. p. 115.

CHAP XIX.

CHAP. XIX.

Accession of Henry VI.—Newgate Rebuilt.—Execution of Sir John Mortimer.—Act for Improving the Navigation of the River Lea.—Attempt to Surprise the City.—Reception of the Prince of Portugal.—Baron of Blakamoore.—An Alderman appointed Judge of the Steelyard Merchants.—Adulteration of Wine punished.—Gift for defraying the Taxes of Three Wards.—Bishop of Winchester's return.—Baynard's Castle burnt.—Letter from the King relative to the City Customs, and Answer to it.—Act relative to Apprentices.—Entry of King Henry after his Coronation in France.—Loan to the King.—Water brought to the Standard in Cheapside.—Great Frost.—Dearth.—Massacre of Foreigners. Foreign Fishermen allowed to Retail Fish.—Extraordinary Levy.—The Rock-lock formed.—Iceland Codfishery.—The Exportation of Corn permitted.—First Naturalization of a Foreigner.—New Conduits.—Scarcity of Provisions.—Rate of Living.—Restrictions on Foreign Merchants.—New Grant of Water to the City.—Charitable Legacies.—A Martyr burnt.—Grant from the King for repairing the Cross in Cheapside.—Riots.—The King's Letter for preventing Irregularities in the Election of Mayor.—New Conduit at St. Paul's.—The High Way from London to Westminster repaired.—Act of Common-council to punish Sabbath-breakers.—St. Paul's Steeple burnt.—Prices of Provisions.—Arrival of Queen Margaret.

On the death of Henry V. his son, at that time only eight months and a few days old, was advanced to the throne, by the name of Henry VI. and, in the month of November, following, the young monarch was carried through the city, in his mother's lap, in an open chair, to the parliament then sitting at Westminster.

Soon after the young king's accession to the throne, in the year 1423, a petition was presented to the king in council, for permission to remove the prisoners out of Newgate, in order to rebuild that prison, in conformity to the will of Sir Richard Whittington, late Lord Mayor of London; and the petition being granted, the work was performed under the inspection of Sir Richard's executors.

In this year Sir John Mortimer, a victim to the jealousy of the House of Lancaster against that of York, was executed at Tyburn, He was put to death on a fictitious charge, by an *ex post facto* law, called the Statute of Escapes, made on purpose to destroy him: and thus, says Pennant, was Henry VI. stained with blood, even in his infancy, and began a bloody reign with slaughter, continued to the end of his life by ambition and cruelty not his own.

The river Lea was deemed of such importance to the supply of London with corn, meal, malt, &c. that an act of parliament was passed in the year 1424, for improving its navigation.

About the year 1426, the Bishop of Winchester, who was great uncle to the king, formed a design of seizing the protectorship into his own hands; and, as the most likely method to accomplish his ends, determined to surprise the city of London.

The Duke of Gloucester, who was protector, having received intelligence that this bold plan was intended to be carried into execution, in the night succeeding Lord-mayor's Day, when the citizens were engaged in festivity, he sent an order to the lord mayor to raise such a number of citizens as might be sufficient to defeat the attempt.

Sir John Coventry, the mayor, obeyed this order so effectually, that when the bishop's archers and men at arms attempted to force a passage at London-bridge, they were easily repulsed, and the insurrection was wholly suppressed, with very little damage on either side.

The Prince of Portugal being at this time on his travels in England, he, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, generously undertook to compose the difference between the protector and the bishop; but, their endeavours proving unsuccessful, the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, and brother to the protector, judged it necessary, for the good of the public, to come over to accommodate the affair in controversy. At his landing, he was met by a great number of the nobility, and, at Merton, by the mayor, aldermen, and many of the principal citizens of London, on horseback, who conducted him to and through the city in great state to Westminster, where, the day after, the mayor and citizens presented him with one thousand marks in gold, in two gilt silver basons. However, they met with a very cold reception; for their inveterate enemy, the Bishop of Winchester, had prepossessed the duke with false notions of the citizens.

Stow says:* "in the year 1426, there came a lewd fellow to London, feigning himself to be sent from the emperor to the young King Henry VI. calling himself Baron of Blackamoore, and that he should be the principal physician in this kingdom; but his subtlety being known, he was apprehended, condemned, drawn, hanged, beheaded, and quartered, his head set on the Tower of London, and his quarters on four gates of the city."

It had long been customary for the Steel-yard merchants, in conformity with some of their charters which are now lost, to have an alderman of the city of London to be their judge in all controversies, agreeable to the statute of law-merchant. But this custom having, upon some difference between these merchants and the citizens, been discontinued for seven years, they petitioned the king and parliament to have an Alderman of London appointed their judge, according to ancient custom. In pursuance of which, an alderman was now appointed to this office.

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* Survey, p. 58.

Sir John Rainwell, the mayor, having received an information of the mal-practices of the Lombard merchants, in adulterating their wines, to the great prejudice of the health of his majesty's subjects; he caused one hundred and fifty butts of that pernicious liquor to be seized, in divers parts of the city, the heads whereof being knocked out, the wine, or putrid matter, ran into the street-channels, and emitted such a very noxious smell, that it infected the air to a great degree.

This worthy mayor gave certain lands and tenements for defraying parliamentary taxes, for the ease of the poor in the wards of Aldgate, Bishopsgate, and Dowgate, provided they did not exceed three fifteenths.

The Bishop of Winchester, lately made Cardinal of St. Eusebius, in France, being returned from thence, was, on his approach to London, met by the mayor, aldermen, and many of the chief citizens, on horseback, who conducted him in great state to his palace in Southwark.

In this Year the stately palace of Baynard's castle was destroyed by fire; but, in a short time after, magnificently rebuilt by the said Duke of Gloucester.

In the year 1428, the following interesting letter was sent by King Henry VI. to the mayor and aldermen of London.

"Henry, by the grace of God, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to the mayor and aldermen of the city of London, greeting: Willing for certain caused to be certified upon the tenors of divers liberties and customs of the aforesaid city, and concerning the records, and memoranda of servants and natives coming to the aforesaid city, and tarrying there for a year and a day, without complaint of their lords or masters before you had, and inrolled in our court of our chamber of Guildhall, of the aforesaid city, as is said: We command you, the mayor, distinctly and openly, to send the tenor of the liberties, customs, records, and memoranda, aforesaid, to us in our chancery, under our seal, and this our brief.

"Witness myself at Westminster, the twentieth day of January, in the seventh year of our reign."

To which the mayor and aldermen returned the following answer, viz.

"That, in the time of holy King Edward, heretofore king of England, and before and from all time in memory of man, then was extant such dignity, liberty, and loyal custom, amongst others was had, used and approved, in the city of London, which is, and from all time hath been called, *The free chamber of the King of England*, as from ancient time it was used, and had as in the great city of Troy; to wit, that every servant, whosoever he were, that came to the city of London, and tarried in it for a year and a day, without being reclaimed by his lord there, afterwards he may, ought, and hath accustomed through his whole life, so freely and securely to tarry there, as it were in the house or chamber of the king: and hence it is, that the same holy King Edward, amongst other things, by his laws remaining upon record, in the treasury of Guildhall of the said city, and reciting the city itself to be the head of the kingdom, and that it was founded like and after the manner of old Troy; and that it containeth in it the laws, liberties, dignities, and royal customs of Great Troy: he appointed and ordained, that the said city of London may have and keep every where, by one inviolability always, all her old usages and customs, wheresoever the king himself shall be, whether on an expedition or otherwise. And that afterwards, William the Conqueror, King of England, by his charter, which remaineth of the record, in the same treasury, granted to the men of London, that they be worthy of all that, both law and right, as they were in the days of the aforesaid Edward; and moreover, that the said William the king, among other laws at the said city made, with the consent of noble and wise men of the whole kingdom, and remaining in the said treasury, likewise remaining of record, appointed and ordained, that if servants remain without complaint by a year and a day, in a burgh compassed with a wall, or in castles, or in the cities of the said king; whence the said city of London, to that time, and from all time before, was one, and the more principal of the whole kingdom, as is said before; from that day, let them become freemen, and let them be for ever free and quit from the yoke of their servitude."---And the record of this transaction further saith, " It is to be noted, that the laws, recitements, and statutes of holy King Edward, of which mention is made above, are contained in folio 34 of this book, under the title *De Heretochiis et libertatibus London:* and in folio 113 of the Book of Customs of the said city; and in folio 36 of the book called *Recordatorium London*, &c. and in folio 162 of the *Red Book* in the Exchequer, called *The True Charter:* by which, the said lord the Conqueror, hath confirmed to the citizens of London, all rights and laws which they had in the time of holy King Edward, together with certain other charters, by which the said lord, immediately after the conquest, gave the whole hyde and land of the city of London, whereof he had been possessed in his demesne, to the men of the said city, patent and remanent under the seal of the said king, in the custody of the chamberlain, in the treasury of the said city: which charters are contained and incorporated into the great charter of the liberties and customs of the city of London; and are confirmed by the lord the king, Henry VI. and his progenitors. But the tenor of the said charters are patent in the Latin tongue, in folio 238, of the *Book of Ordinances* of the said city."

By an act of parliament passed in this year, it had been ordained, that no person should be permitted to put out their children as apprentices to any trade, unless they were worth twenty shillings per annum, in land; and all persons presuming to take the children of unqualified parents were liable to a heavy penalty.

The citizens, considering this as a grievous oppression, applied to parliament for redress; and for the great services which they had rendered to the king, the act was repealed.

Notwithstanding the English power began to decline in France, yet the Duke of Bedford took the opportunity of conferring on the young monarch, the transient honour of being crowned at Paris.

On his return to England, February 20, 1431, he was received by the magistrates of London, at Blackheath, with great pomp and magnificence.

The Mayor of London, dressed in crimson velvet, with a large furred velvet hat, a girdle of gold about his middle, and a baldrick of gold about his neck, waving down his back, attended by three horsemen, on stately horses, cloathed in scarlet bespangled with silver, and by all the aldermen, in scarlet gowns with sanguine hoods, and a vast company of citizens, in white gowns and scarlet hoods, the symbol of each trade and mystery embroidered richly upon their sleeves, and all on horseback, sumptuously accoutred, met his majesty on Blackheath, and preceded him to London. The city, on this occasion, was decorated with rich silks and carpets; and on the bridge, and streets through which the cavalcade passed, were erected a variety of stately pageants, filled with persons representing the lares, graces, and sciences; who, by their curious orations and charming melodies, added very much to the elegancy of the procession. Two days after, the mayor and aldermen attended the king at Westminster, and presented him with a golden hamper, containing one thousand pounds in nobles.

The expenses of this expedition were defrayed by a loan of fifty thousand pounds, borrowed of several persons, and communities, to be repaid in the following year out of the tenths and fifteenths of the counties in which the lenders lived. Of this sum the city of London advanced ten thousand marks.

At this time the Tyburn water was laid into the Standard in Cheapside, at the expense of Sir John Wells, the late mayor.

In the year 1434 a great frost began on the 24th of November, and held till the 10th of February, following; whereby the river Thames was so strongly frozen, that all sorts of merchandizes and provisions brought into the mouth of the said river were unladen, and brought by land to the city.

By the great rains that fell in the preceding autumn, corn was so much damaged, that a very great dearth ensued, wherein wheat was sold at the excessive rate of one pound six shillings and eight pence per quarter.

In the following year, according to Hollinshed, in revenge for the perfidy of the Duke of Burgundy, who had broken his alliance with England, and joined his troops to those of France; the citizens of London fell upon his innocent subjects residing in this city; and, before the tumult could be repressed, they, with an unheard-of barbarity, cruelly murdered many Burgundians, Hollanders, and

Flemings. The king immediately caused proclamation to be made for restraining his subjects from all cruelties and disorders under the severest penalties, and effectually prevented the effusion of more innocent blood.

The company of fishmongers of this city having again intended to impose upon their fellow-citizens in selling their fish, by preventing all foreign fishermen from cutting to pieces, or otherwise selling their fish by retail; the parliament enacted, that no person whatsoever should presume to hinder or obstruct any fisherman, either foreign or domestic, from disposing of his fish as he should see convenient, upon the penalty of ten pounds.

The town of Calais being besieged, in 1436, by the Duke of Burgundy, in favour of his new ally the French king, the nation was so alarmed that all the cities and towns of the kingdom were commanded to have in readiness, against an appointed time, a certain number of men, completely armed, to march to its relief, under the command of the Duke of Gloucester. Upon this emergency, the citizens of London distinguished themselves in an extraordinary manner; for they not only got their quota ready against the time prefixed, but likewise undertook to maintain them at their own expense.

This army effectually answered the end for which it was raised; for, upon its arrival in the neighbourhood of Calais, the Burgundians were so intimidated, that they raised the siege, and fled with the utmost precipitation.

An accident happened about this time which gave rise to the rock-lock under London Bridge. Two arches on the south side of the bridge, and the gate upon them, fell down. The ruins being suffered to remain rendered one of the locks, or passages for the water, useless; and, having obtained the appellation of the rock-lock, it has by many been supposed to be a natural rock. Several attempts have been made to remove the obstruction, but hitherto without success.

It has been already noticed that the Londoners had early engaged in the Iceland cod-fishery. In the Fœdera* we find that a Bishop of Hola in Iceland, by licence of King Henry VI. hired the master of a London ship going to that island "to be his proxy or attorney, to visit that bishoprick for him, he being greatly afraid of going thither, because of the great distance, both by sea and land." Tho' we cannot much admire the piety of the bishop, whose fears were so superior to his affection for his flock, yet, in the choice of his apostle he seems to have been guided by the example of his divine master, who selected his beloved apostle from the same class of men.

In the same volume is another licence to a Bishop of Skalholt, in Iceland, to hire a vessel to transport him and his family to that Island.

An act of parliament was passed in this year to permit the exportation of corn, according to which; "corn being of small price, that is, wheat at six shillings and eight pence, and barley at three shillings and four pence, per quarter, may be carried forth of the realm without licence." These prices may therefore be considered as below the average prices of these articles at that period.

The first authentic instance of the naturalization of a foreigner occurs in 1437, when Henry VI granted to Titus Livius of Ferrara, poet to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, in substance as follows:† "That he be received and taken, in all respects, as if he were a native of England, and shall be capable of holding any office, or employment in England; may take and receive, buy and sell, any lands, revenues, reversions, advowsons or other benefits for him and his heirs; to have and plead all manner of actions in all courts, in every respect like a natural-born subject."

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* Vol. X. pp. 645 and 649.

† Fœdera, Vol. X. p. 661.

In the year 1438, Sir William Eastfield, Knight of the Bath, and mayor of this city, at his proper cost brought water from Tyburn and Highbury-Barn to London; and caused conduits to be erected in Fleet-street, Aldermanbury, and at Cripplegate, for the convenience of his fellow citizens.

During the harvest season of this year, there were such excessive storms of wind and rain, that a great part of the crops of corn were destroyed, so that the poor in some parts of the country were reduced to the necessity of making a kind of bread of ivy-berries and fern-roots; and though this calamity was severely felt in London, yet, by the care and humanity of the mayor, who sent ships to Prussia to fetch rye, when the scarcity first began, the city was so far supplied, as to prevent the dreadful consequences of a total famine.

On the twenty-fifth of November in this same year, there happened a most violent storm of wind, by which many churches and houses were uncovered, and almost half of the houses in the Old Change, near Cheapside, blown down.

Some idea may be formed of the rate of living at this period, from Bishop Fleetwood's Chronicon Preciosum, who, under the year 1439, says, "At this time, a single clergyman might support himself with decency for five pounds per annum." It must not, however, be overlooked, that five pounds at that time contained as much silver as ten pounds of the present currency; so that living may be estimated at about five times as cheap as in our days. And this opinion is corroborated by an act of parliament passed in this year for regulating the qualifications for justices of the peace in counties, which is to be "twenty pounds yearly, in lands or tenements," which is very nearly equivalent to the present qualification of one hundred pounds.

By another act, passed in this year, foreign merchants were again put under those severe and impolitic restrictions which are too much the reproach of some periods of our commercial history. In every town to which a merchant-alien should repair, the mayor or chief officer was to assign him a host or surveyor, to survey all his buyings and sellings, to register them in a book, and certify them into the Exchequer, for which he was to have two pence in the pound on all merchandize bought or sold. He was disabled from selling to another foreigner, and obliged to convert the produce of his imported goods into English merchandize, within eight months of arrival, upon pain of forfeiture.

In this same year we have a statute, Cap. XV. by which it is, for the first time, made felony to export wool, without paying the king's duty and subsidy.

The next statute, Cap. XVI. directs, "that there shall be but one measure of cloth throughout the realm, viz. by the yard and the inch, and not by the yard and the handful, according to the measure of London."

In this year the Abbot of Westminster granted to Robert Large, the mayor, and citizens, of London, and their successors, one head of water, containing twenty-six perches in length, and one in breadth, together with all its springs, in the manor of Paddington: in consideration of which grant, the city is for ever to pay to the said abbot and his successors, at the feast of St. Peter, two pepper-corns. But, if the intended work should happen to draw the water from the ancient wells in the manor of Hida, then the aforesaid grant to cease, and become entirely void. This grant Henry VI. not only confirmed to the mayor and citizens, but likewise, by a writ of privy seal, granted them further advantages towards the performing thereof, as will be seen in the year 1441.

The charity of the wealthy citizens at this time is nobly exemplified in the legacies left by Sheriff Malpas and the mayor, Robert Large. The former bequeathed one hundred and twenty-five pounds to the relief of poor prisoners, and every year, for five years, four hundred shirts and shifts, forty pair of sheets, and one hundred and fifty gowns of frieze for the poor; to five hundred poor people in London, six shillings and eight pence each; to poor maids in marriage, one hundred marks; to repairing highways, one hundred marks; twenty marks a year for a graduate to preach; twenty pounds per annum to preachers at the Spital on three Easter holidays. The latter gave two hundred pounds to the parish of St. Olave in Southwark; twenty-five pounds to St. Margaret's, Lothbury; twenty pounds to the poor; one hundred marks to the bridge; two hundred marks towards arching over the water-course in Walbrook; one hundred marks to poor maids in marriage; one hundred marks to poor housekeepers; and several more legacies.

In the year 1440, Sir Richard Wick, Vicar of Hermetsworth, in Essex, was burnt on Tower-hill, on account of his religious tenets; and as he had the reputation of being a man of remarkable sanctity, the Vicar of Barking embraced this opportunity of imposing upon the people, by mixing a quantity of odoriferous spices with some ashes, which he privately strewed on the place where Wick had been burnt, in order to induce the people to worship him as a martyr to the faith.

This trick drew numbers of people to the spot, who began to invoke the deceased as a deity, and offer statues of wax, and money at his shrine, which the impostor repaid, by presenting them with the ashes as sacred relics, and supplying the place with fresh ashes during the night.

After this farce had been carried on for about a week, the vicar was seized and imprisoned, and in a short time afterwards, the whole cheat was discovered by his own confession.

The cross in Cheapside, which had been erected to the memory of Queen Eleanor, being greatly decayed, John Hatherley, the mayor, applied to the king for permission to rebuild it. He also solicited the royal aid towards repairing the common granary of the city, and the conduits, as well as for compleating other improvements then carrying on for supplying the city with water.

These several requests were readily granted by the king, as will appear from the following letter:

"The king to whom these shall come, greeting: Know ye, that whereas our beloved John Hatherley, mayor, and the citizens of London, do intend, for the common utility and decency of all the said city, and for the universal advantage; likewise for the well-pleasing of all liege subjects flowing thither from other parts, at convenient places therein, as it well becomes them so to do, to build and erect divers aqueducts of fresh water, with standards and other machines, and leaden pipes, which have and do run under and above the earth, above three miles; and to rebuild a certain common granary, and a certain beautiful cross in the Westcheap of the said city, which may serve for a reservoir, or, as it were, a mother to the said conduits or aqueducts; which works cannot be performed without a very large quantity of lead, and workmen proper to carry on the said works; we, well considering the utility, decency, and advantage of the said works, do, of our own special grace, grant and give our licence for compleating the same; and for the said citizens to take up two hundred fodder of lead for the building thereof, and to impress plumbers and labourers, &c. for carrying on the said work, paying them their wages."

And the several grants of springs, heads of water, &c. under which the city was provided with water, were also ratified and confirmed by the king and parliament, for the consideration of twenty pounds paid into the hanaper.

In August, 1442, a fray began between the students of the inns of court, headed by one Hartbottle of Clifford's Inn, and the neighbouring citizens, in which many were wounded and killed on both sides: but it was happily quelled before the morning by the citizens, headed by the mayor and sheriffs. But the attempt of the merchant-taylors to set aside the lord mayor at the next election had like to have proved of much worse consequence to the city. They demanded Ralph Holland, member of their company, to be chosen by the court of aldermen in opposition to Robert Clopton, a draper, upon whom the choice had already fallen. And the merchant-taylors became so outrageous, that Sir John Paddesley, mayor, was obliged to exert his authority; who, by committing some of the rioters to Newgate, removed the present obstacle to Clopton's election; and punished the prisoners in an exemplary manner for their riotous proceedings.

This affair, however, did not end here; for the merchant-taylor's party made no scruple of declaring that they would oppose the next election; whereupon the king was applied to, who issued a letter to the following effect.

"That whereas the mayors of London used to be chosen by the aldermen, and certain more discreet persons of the said city, especially summoned and warned for that purpose; yet some that had not, nor ought to have, any interest in such elections, came, and with their noise and clamour disturbed them, with an intention to choose such who might afterwards favour their evil-doing and errors: He therefore, willing to provide for the quiet and peace of his subjects, and to apply a suitable remedy on this behalf, did command and firmly enjoin the mayor and sheriffs, to make proclamation through all the city and liberty, before the time of the election of a mayor, strictly forbidding, that none be present at such election, or any way, or under any colour, thrust himself into it, but such as by right, and according to the custom of the city, ought to be there; and that such election be made by the aldermen and other of the more discreet and able citizens, especially warned and summoned, according to the custom aforesaid: letting them know for certain, that if any, some other way elected, were presented to him, or his treasurer, and barons of the Exchequer, they would by no means admit him: and that they should arrest and commit to prison all those who should act contrary to the said proclamation and prohibition."

In the year 1443, the common council granted one thousand marks toward erecting a new conduit near St. Paul's gate, at the upper end of Cheapside, and for the repairing of others. About the same time, the king, by his letters patent, impowered Thomas Knowles, John Chichie, &c. executors of John Wells, some time mayor of London, to repair the highway leading from London to Westminster, before and near the palace of the Savoy, which, for the space of five hundred feet, they substantially performed with stones and gravel.

The same common council passed a severe act against sabbath breakers, and to prevent buying and selling goods and victuals, as well as for restraining mechanics from working on the Lord's day.

On the first of February, 1444, there happened a most violent storm of thunder and lightning, by which the steeple of St. Paul's cathedral was set on fire; and being carelessly extinguished, the flames broke out again between eight and nine o'clock at night, and consumed the greatest part of the framework belonging to the steeple.

The Chronicon Preciosum gives us the prices of the following provisions in the year 1444, viz.

	L.	S.	D.
Wheat, per quarter	0	4	4
A fat ox	1	11	8
A hog	0	3	0
A goose	0	0	3
Pigeons, per dozen	0	0	4

Another act of parliament for permitting the exportation of grain was also passed in this year, which fixes the exportation prices of wheat at six shillings and eight pence; rye four shillings; and barley three shillings, per quarter.

In the following year we have another table of prices in the same book, by which it appears, that wheat remained at the above price, and other articles as under:

	L.	S.	D.
Ale, per gallon	0	0	1½
Hay, per load	0	3	6½
A young swan	0	3	0
A goose	0	0	3
Stock-fish, one hundred for	0	17	6

Red

	L.	S.	D.
Red herrings, three thousand for -	1	11	0
Bullocks and heifers (probably calves) each - - -	0	5	0
Fine linen, for surplices and the altar, per ell - - -	0	0	8

On the arrival of their new queen, Margaret, in 1445, the lord mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and principal citizens, met her on Blackheath, whence they conducted her to London, where she was received with the greatest pomp and magnificence.

CHAP. XX.

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Intrigues at Court.—Attachment of the Londoners to the Duke of Gloucester.—His Murder.—Trial of his Domestics.—Petition to Parliament for leave to establish Public Schools.—The King's Plate pawned to two London Goldsmiths.—Cade's Rebellion.—The Lord Mayor created a Privy Counsellor.—Episcopal Impositions submitted to Arbitration.—The Mayor first goes to Westminster by water.—Battle of St. Albans.—The Duke of York appointed Protector.—Riots.—Commission to try the Delinquents.—Act of Parliament relative to the Mystery of Silk-women.—Five more Schools founded.—Result of the Arbitration between the Clergy and Laity.—Tumult at Newgate.—Genoese Merchants committed to the Fleet.—Tumult in Fleet-street.—Reconciliation of the King and Duke of York.—Measures for preserving the Peace of the City.—Quarrel between the Earl of Warwick's Servant and the King's.—Preparations for Hostilities.—The Citizens refused Admission to the King's Troops.—Admit the Yorkists.—The King Imprisoned in the Bishop of London's Palace.—Massacres.—The Duke of York claims the Crown.—Compromise relative thereto.—The Duke proclaimed Protector.—Opposition of the Queen.—Second Battle of St. Albans.—The Londoners prevent the Queen's army from being supplied with Provisions.—The Young Duke of York chosen King.—Manners of the People in this Reign.—State of the Arts.

The arrival of the queen, and the intrigues carried on between her, the Cardinal of Winchester, and the Earl of Suffolk, who negotiated the marriage, for which service he was reward with the title of marquis, laid the foundation of all the disastrous events of this reign. Henry resigned himself entirely to their direction; but the dukes of York and Gloucester offered a resistance to their schemes, so firm and energetic that no hopes were entertained of bringing them over: it therefore became necessary to get rid of them by any means. The former was sent back to France as regent, and the latter impeached of several crimes; but he defended himself so well, that the council did not think fit to refer the matter to the decision of the peers: the duke was therefore acquitted for the present, but in such a manner that he could get no satisfaction from those who had accused him.

This affair made a mighty noise in London, where the duke was extremely beloved; and the people seemed resolved to protect him against all his enemies. But this affection of the populace only accelerated his fate; for, shortly after, a parliament being assembled at St. Edmundsbury, the Duke of Gloucester was arrested there on the first day of the session, February 24, 1447, and committed to a close prison, without any of his domestics to attend him. Next day he was found dead in his bed, and his enemies, who had procured him to be secretly murdered, gave out that he died of an apoplexy.

After his death, his adversaries circulated reports injurious to his character, in order to impress the public with a notion of his being actually guilty of the crimes laid to his charge. To render them more plausible, his domestics were apprehended on suspicion of being his accomplices; and, being tried by a commission, at the head of which was the Marquis of Suffolk, were found guilty, and received sentence of death.

On this occasion Suffolk endeavoured to recommend himself to the people, by procuring a pardon for these men from the king; but, with a refinement of cruelty peculiar to such a wretch, he did not permit it to be delivered until they were actually hung:

they

cientlie lerned in the gramer, to hold and exercise a schole in the same science of gramer, and it there to teche to al that will learn.

"And that everiche of the said maistres, Maistre William, Maistre Gilbert, Maistre John, and John Neel, maistre; such schole-maistre, so bi him sett, and everche of their successors, such schole-maistre bi him, or bi any of his predecessors so established and sett, speciallie as is above rehercid, may in his own parich or place remove, and another in his place substitute, and sett, as any of the said persones, or their successors semith, [and] the cause reasonable so requireth.

"And so to do ich of the said persones and their successors, as often as it happenyth any of the said scholes to be voyd of a schole-maistre in any manner wyse, to the honour of God, and encreasyng of vertu."

The following is the answer given to the above recited: "the king wille that it be done as it is desired, so that it be done bi th' advyse of the ordinary, the relles of Archbishope of Canterbury for the tyme being."

In the Fœdera,* we see the fashion of the silver plate of King Henry VI. which he pawned in 1448, to two goldsmiths of London, to whom he owed three thousand one hundred and fifty pounds, viz.

	lb.	oz.
1. One great alms dish, gilded, made in the fashion of a ship, with armed men on board of her, weighing - - -	67	9
2. Two gilded flagons, scollop fashion -	64	9¾
3. Two dozen of dishes *(de chargeours)*	255	7
4. Six dozen of plates - - -		
5 Thirty-five gilt saucers - -		
Total	388	1¾

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* Vol. XI. p. 195.

In the year 1450, one Jack Cade, a native of Ireland, who greatly resembled John Mortimer, a prince of the blood of the family of March, who had been beheaded in the beginning of this reign, began a scene of imposture of a very extraordinary kind.

Cade, who had served as a soldier in France, under the Duke of York, was nothing more than the tool of that prince, who thought it adviseable to prepare the nation for his design of ascending the throne, by exciting their affection to the house of Mortimer.

The courage, capacity, and spirit of Cade, had well qualified him for the part he was to act; and he had no sooner received his instructions from the Duke of York's agents, than he assumed the name of John Mortimer, pretending to be the son of John Mortimer, the person who had been beheaded; and repairing to the county of Kent, in which the Duke of York had a great number of adherents, he collected a strong body of mal-contents, on pretence of delivering the people from the burden of taxes, and redressing the grievances of the nation.

Such prodigious numbers of people soon flocked to his standard, that finding himself in a condition to advance towards London, he marched, and encamped on Blackheath with all his forces.

From hence Cade sent letters of safe conduct to Thomas Cock, a draper in the city, who repaired to him for the transacting some affairs between Cade and some of the citizens; and in one of the letters he enjoined the said Cock to demand horses, arms, and a thousand marks in money of the Genoa, Venetian, and Florence merchants residing in London.

As soon as the king received intelligence of this rebellion, he sent a messenger to demand the cause of their appearance in arms; to whom Cade, in the name of the rest, replied, that they had no design against the person of his majesty; but their intention was to address the parliament, that all evil ministers might receive their deserts; and in particular he demanded that the Duke of Somerset should be punished for the loss of Normandy, and that the king's council might be composed of the princes of the blood, and other wise and worthy persons; and not of wretches equally contemptible for the weakness of their intellects, and the depravity of their hearts.

The king in council being informed of Cade's proposals, the council immediately condemned them as arrogant and seditious, and determined to suppress the rebellion by force of arms; and an army of fifteen thousand men being assembled, the king advanced at their head towards Blackheath.

As his majesty advanced, Cade retired, as if afraid of coming to an engagement, and retreated into a wood near Sevenoaks in Kent, expecting that the king's army, emboldened at his retreat, would pursue him in disorder; but Henry, imagining that the rebels were totally dispersed, returned towards London, having first detached a small party in pursuit of the fugitives, under the command of Lord Stafford, who falling into the ambuscade, he and all his followers were cut to pieces.

Animated by this success, Cade returned to Blackheath on the twenty-ninth of June, from whence he again sent petitions to the king and council, demanding, "that the Dukes of York, Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk, should be recalled to court; that the murderers of the good Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, with all who had contributed to the loss of the English territories abroad, might be punished; that the Lord Say, the treasurer, and his son-in-law, Cromer, high sheriff of Kent, might be taken into custody, the grievances of the nation be redressed, and the authors of them brought to condign punishment."

The government, alarmed at the late defeat of their troops, and well knowing the Duke of York's secret friends were by this time on the point of declaring themselves openly, resolved, if possible, to purchase its general safety by the sacrifice of some particulars. Say and Cromer were committed to the Tower, and the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Buckingham were sent to treat with Cade and his followers. They found him very complaisant, but resolute not to lay down his arms until the king should in person come and grant their requests. The archbishop and duke, on their return, reported this conference so little to the encouragement of the court, that the king and queen, leaving the Tower under the command of the Lord Scales and Sir Matthew Gough, set out for Kenelworth castle.

Cade no sooner heard of their retreat, than he directed his march towards London. The citizens, alarmed at the success of the rebels, opened the gates at their approach, and Cade entered in triumph at the head of his troops, and had the insolence to strike his sword against London stone, uttering these words, "Now is Mortimer lord of London." However, he forbade his followers, on the severest penalties, from committing the least outrage on the citizens, or giving the slightest cause of complaint.

On the third of July, the day after their entering the city, the rebels sent to demand that the Lord Say, and Cromer, should be brought from the Tower; and the constable complying with their demand, Cade caused them both to be put to death without the form of trial.

For some days Cade continued the practice of entering the city in the morning, and quitting it at night, that he might not give umbrage to the inhabitants, with whom he and his followers lived at first in very good understanding. But the insurgents having plundered the houses and effects of two wealthy aldermen, even after they had entertained Cade at their tables with bounteous hospitality, and growing more and more licentious, the citizens plainly saw there was a necessity of uniting with the king's troops in the Tower, for their common preservation. They therefore took the opportunity of Cade's return by night to Southwark; when the mayor and aldermen sent a message to the Lord Scales, offering to arm the citizens, and guard the bridge against the return of the rebels, if he would support them with a detachment from the Tower. The Lord Scales therefore sent Sir William Gough, constable of the Tower, with a detachment of men; upon which the citizens immediately rising, seized upon the bridge, and cut off the rebel party that guarded it.

Cade and his followers returning the next morning as usual, found the bridge gate shut and baricadoed against them; on which they attempted to force a passage, when a battle ensued between them and the citizens, both sides maintaining the fight with equal obstinacy, until night put an end to the conflict. Sir Matthew Gough, with the Aldermen Sutton and Hazard, lost their lives; as did many of the citizens, who were drowned in endeavouring to defend the draw-bridge.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, and the lord chancellor, who had taken refuge in the Tower, being informed by their emissaries that the insurgents were greatly dispirited by this repulse, drew up a general pardon for the rebels, provided they would lay down their arms; as also one for Cade in particular, if he would desist from his rebellious projects. These pardons they confirmed by putting the great seal to them, which was in the chancellor's possession, and found means to publish them by night in the borough of Southwark.

This wise and critical measure was attended with amazing success, for the next day Cade found himself abandoned by the greater number of his followers, notwithstanding all his remonstrances and artful speeches, in which he endeavoured to persuade them, that the pardon which had been sent, being without authority of parliament, was of no effect.

Cade finding his affairs were now become desperate, thought it not adviseable to wait for the succours promised him by the partisans of the Duke of York; but rather to provide for his own safety, together with that of his rich booty, which he sent by water to Rochester, and having disguised himself, fled into the woods of Sussex.

As soon as his flight was known, a proclamation was issued by the government, offering a reward of a thousand marks to any person who should take him alive or dead; soon after which he was discovered in a garden at Heathfield *, in Sussex, by Alexander Iden, a Kentish gentleman, and sheriff of the county, who endeavoured to apprehend him. Cade, finding himself closely attacked, made a resolute resistance; but he was at length overpowered, and killed

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* The following paragraph appeared in Hall's Chronicle, in May, 1794.

"In a part of the village of Heathfield, in Sussex, named Cade-street, from the death of Jack Cade, who was killed there, but which has killed by his antagonist, who brought his body in a cart to London, where his head was cut off, and fixed on London-bridge, together with the heads of nine of his accomplices; and some others of the ring-leaders were afterwards tried and executed.

Thus happily ended this dangerous insurrection, chiefly through the bravery of the citizens of London, whose courageous resistance of the rebels at London-bridge, paved the way for the happy consequences that followed.

The following year Godfrey Fielding, lord mayor of London, was so highly in favour with the king, that his majesty created him one of his privy counsellors. This is the first instance of a person in that rank of life being honoured with so important a character, and probably arose from his signal services during Cade's rebellion.

Roger, surnamed Niger, Bishop of London, consecrated on the 10th of June in the year 1229, ordained, that all the citizens of London should pay to their parish priests a halfpenny out of every pound, and a farthing out of every ten shillings, every Lord's day, and also on every festival, whose vigils were to be observed as fasts; which constitution was afterwards confirmed by Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1397, and by Pope Innocent, A. D. 1404. But this episcopal imposition met with much opposition from the laity, notwithstanding its being fortified with so great ecclesiastical authorities: wherefore Pope Nicholas V. in

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has been commonly called Cat-street, Mr. Newbery has lately erected a pedestal, by the road-side, to commemorate this event, and to correct the vulgar error. It is a noble structure of stone, and has a tablet in the centre with the following inscription:

Near this spot was slain the notorious rebel Jack Cade,
By Alexander Iden, Esq. Sheriff of Kent, A. D. 1450.
His body was carried to London, and his head fixed upon London Bridge.
This is the success of all rebels, and this fortune ever chanceth to traitors."

the year 1453, issued out a bull to confirm the same; wherein his holiness commands the mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, citizens, and inhabitants, to pay the said offerings, and to oblige every one to do the same as much as in their power, under pain of the greater excommunication. This, at length, operated so effectually, that the clergy insisted rigorously on those offerings, and the laity, intimidated by the Vatican thunder, proposed an arbitration to compound for the same, which was concluded and signed on the 17th of December, 1457.

The custom of the lord mayor elect being rowed in a barge to Westminster, in order to qualify himself for his office, took its rise in the year 1454, when John Norman, the new mayor, built an elegant barge at his own expense; and his example was followed by the several city companies, who attended him in their respective barges, magnificently painted, and decorated with flags and streamers.

The queen and her party continuing to influence all the king's actions, the affections of his subjects were at length so entirely alienated from him, that great numbers of them joined the Duke of York, who, with an army composed of Welshmen and disaffected Englishmen, gave battle to the king's army, at St. Alban's, on the twenty-second of May, 1455. After an obstinate engagement, the royal forces were entirely routed, and the king himself made prisoner, who was sent to London and lodged in the bishop's palace. This was the first battle fought in the sanguinary quarrel between the houses of York and Lancaster.

The parliament assembled soon afterwards, and being dissatisfied with the influence of the queen, and her favourite the Duke of Somerset, desired Henry, who still retained the name and semblance of king, to appoint a protector of the kingdom. The

Duke of York, however, fearing it might, at that period, wear the appearance of constraint, caused the nomination to be postponed, and the parliament was prorogued to the twelfth of November, when the Duke of York was appointed protector; but the intrigues of the queen again prevailed so far as to get him dismissed by the same parliament in the following year.

In a government so unsteady, the authority of the civil magistrate is necessarily weak. The commotions in the state were accompanied by riots and tumults among the people, in which the execution of the laws was found to be attended with great difficulty.

The principal of these, as they are related in Fabian's Chronicle, were the two following: A number of the inhabitants of St. Martins-le-Grand had assembled, and violently assaulted the citizens, many of whom they beat and wounded, and afterwards retired to their habitations within the sanctuary of the church.

The mayor and aldermen being advised of this barbarous and vile treatment of their fellow-citizens, some of them, attended by a great number of people, instantly repaired to the monastery, forced it open, and carried off the authors of the late riot. The dean made a heavy complaint to the king, against the mayor and citizens, for a breach of privilege; wherefore they were summoned to attend the council to answer the same. In obedience to this command, the recorder, with a deputation of the aldermen, attended the king, then at the castle of Egle in Hertfordshire; who, after a long examination of both parties, dismissed the city deputies with a letter to the mayor, commanding him to keep the said rioters in custody till his return to London, when he intended to have that affair more strictly inquired into.

In May, 1456, a simple and passionate young mercer, who had been denied the liberty, or punnished for wearing a dagger in Italy contrary to the laws of that country, where he had resided for some time, being returned to this city, met an Italian, in Cheapside, with a dagger by his side; which so enraged him, that, without considering the different laws and customs of countries, he insolently told him, that, as the English were not allowed to wear swords in Italy, neither ought he to wear any weapon in England; and the Italian, somewhat irritated at this manner of address, returning him an answer not agreeable to the furious temper of the young censor, he not only snatched the stranger's dagger from his side, but broke his head therewith. The injured foreigner applied to the lord mayor for redress, who, greatly concerned at the indignity offered to the stranger, summoned the mercer to appear and answer to the complaint, on the next day, at Guildhall, before him and a full court of aldermen; who committed the aggressor to the prison of Newgate, he not being able to allege any thing in alleviation of his guilt. But the servants of the mercery, says Fabian, way-laid them near the end of Laurence-lane, in Cheapside, and rescued the prisoner.

The populace, availing themselves of this confusion and dispute with a foreigner, assembled in great numbers, and plundered the houses of the most eminent Italian merchants in the city; nor was the tumult suppressed without bloodshed. In the mean time the offender made his escape and took shelter in the abbey church of St. Peter, Westminster.

These disturbances greatly alarmed the queen and her party, who suspected that they were set on foot by the adherents of the Duke of York; whereupon her majesty sent the Dukes of Exeter and Buckingham,

ham, with others empowered by a special commission, to assist the magistrates in trying the offenders.

For this purpose a court was held at Guildhall; but, when the magistrates were proceeding to impannel the jury, the mob arose, and threatened that if their fellow-citizens, then in prison on account of the late riots, were tried, they would take a severe revenge.

The commissioners were so intimidated at these threats, that they immediately adjourned the court, and retired with the utmost precipitation. The mayor, however, considering that if a stop was not put to the riotous proceedings of the populace, there would be an end of all civil government in the city, summoned a court of common-council to meet at Guildhall on the following day, and strictly enjoined the warden of every company to assemble his whole fellowship at the respective halls that afternoon, and to charge every member of their community to keep, in his own person, and endeavour to maintain, the peace of the city: and that if they should discover or suspect any person inclined to attempt the forcible release of those who were in prison, the said warden should, by fair means, endeavour to persuade the parties so disposed to alter their intentions, and in the mean time give their name or names privately and expeditiously to the mayor.

These measures being attentively pursued, all tumults subsided, and the queen's commissioners returning to the city, the prisoners were brought to their trials, three of whom were condemned and executed at Tyburn, and several others were fined in considerable sums of money.

Madox * says, that an act of parliament, which is not in the printed acts, was passed in the thirty-third year of Henry VI. "upon the heavy complaint

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* Firma Burgi, Chap. I. p. 33.

of the women of the mystery and trade of silk and thread-workers in London, by which it appeared that divers Lombards, and other foreigners, enriched themselves by ruining the said mystery, and all such kinds of industrious occupations of the women of our kingdom," for prohibiting wrought silk, belonging to the mystery of silk-women, from being brought into the kingdom as merchandize for five years to come. These must have probably been only needle-works of silk and thread, since only women are said to be concerned in them; besides, the broad silk manufacture did not commence in England till long after this time.

The advantages already derived from the foundation of the four grammar schools mentioned above were so great, that the Bishop of London, seconded by the Archbishop of Canterbury, procured the king's letters patent, dated in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, for founding five others, viz. one in St. Paul's church-yard, another in the collegiate church of St. Martin-le-grand, another at Bow church, Cheapside, another at St. Dunstan's in the east, and the fifth at the hospital of St. Anthony.

The arbitration between the clergy and laity, concerning the offerings imposed by the church on the people, as related in the year 1453, was now finally awarded in 1457, there being, at that time, one hundred and eighteen parish-churches in London and the suburbs: it is recorded by Arnold in this form:

The composition of all offering within the city of London and suburbs of the same.

" First, that every person, dweller and inhabitant in any house in London, or its suburbs, who hireth and occupieth the same at ten shillings per annum, shall offer to God, and to the church in whose parish such house standeth, one farthing on each of the feast days, hereafter mentioned, viz. on every Sunday in the year, Christmas-day, Circumcision, Epiphany, Purification of our Lady, Ascension of our Lord, Corpus Christi, St. Matthew, St. Simon, and Jude, All-saints, St. Andrew, Conception of the blessed Virgin, St. Thomas the Apostle, St. Peter and Paul, St. James and St. Bartholomew, Assumption and Nativity of our Lady, Dedication-day: to be kept for all the churches in London from henceforward on the third of October, yearly; and also on the patron's day of each church in London and its suburbs. And if such inhabited houses be lett for twenty shillings to pay two farthings or a halfpenny; if for thirty shillings, to pay three farthings; if for forty shillings, to pay one penny; if for fifty shillings, to pay one penny one farthing. And so every sum, ascending and descending by ten shillings into what sum soever, shall always offer one farthing, after the rate of ten shillings at the aforesaid feasts. And he, who rents houses in divers parishes within London and its suburbs, shall pay or offer the same, for each house, to the church in which parish it stands. Provided that should it happen two of the said feasts fall on one day, the offering shall be only for one day. That a house, rented at six shillings and eight pence, shall offer only four times in the year, on the four principal feasts of the church, of which he is a parishioner. And all above six shillings and eight pence, and under ten shillings to pay one penny one farthing once a year. Provided always that if the said dweller go before the curate, and there declare, upon his faith and truth, that he may not pay his said money according to the ordinance aforesaid, be within ten shillings, that the said curate shall holden him, aught or naught, and the dweller thereupon shall be quit. Also if the rent of the house exceeds ten shillings and does not amount to thirty shillings, and so to any sum being between ten shillings and ten shillings; the inhabitant shall pay to the curate five farthings for every shilling of the said sum that shall be between ten and ten. Where a house is taken together, and afterwards let out into apartments for divers people, then the person who took the whole house, and inhabiteth the principal part thereof, shall pay an offering to his parish church for the whole rent, if the said house be inhabited and occupied as dwelling-places. But if the person, who rents the whole house, does not dwell in any part thereof, and lets it out again, then he that dwelleth in the principal part shall offer all, and the rest four pence by the year. Also every warehouse, shop, cellar, wharf, stable, crane, ground, garden, or place, shall pay, for every pound they be let for, six pence, offering to the curate of the church, in which they shall stand, without any other offering; and three pence for ten shillings per ann. rent; and more or less as they shall be let for more or less than ten shillings per ann. It was also provided, that all apprentices and servants and hired men within the said city, not charged with such rent and houses, which shall be householders at Easter, or about Easter, shall four times in the year, at the four principal feasts, offer to God and to the church. Also as for personal tythes, the parishioners are neither charged nor discharged; saving that hereafter no curate shall vex, trouble, sue, or deny sacraments or service for non-payment of the same; but leave them to the piety and conscience of the parishioners. Also all proceedings or suits, hitherto carried on for tythes or offerings before this day, shall stop and never be brought into controversy any more; but all such things, done before this day, shall be remitted and forgiven by both parties."

We learn, from Stow,* that, in this year, a great tumult took place at Newgate, occasioned by the following circumstance: A great fray had happened in the north, between Sir T. Percie, Lord Egremond, and the Earl of Salisbury's sons, in which many were maimed and slain; and, upon an inquiry before the council, Lord Egremond was found to be the aggressor, and condemned to pay a considerable sum to the Earl of Salisbury, and in the mean time he was committed to Newgate. But shortly after he, with his brother, Sir Richard Percie, broke out by night, and went to the king: the other prisoners "took the leades of the gates and defended it a long time against the sheriffs and all their officers, insomuch, that they were forced to call more aide of the citizens, whereby they lastly subdued them, and laid them in irons."

According to Fabian's Chronicle, part 7, we find an English merchant-ship so far from home as the Levant sea, in the year 1458; which ship having been captured by an armed vessel belonging to Genoa, all the Genoese merchants in London were committed to the Fleet prison, and, to make good the damage arising from the capture, were amerced in the sum of six thousand marks; but the division of the Mediterranean sea into the Levant, and the Ponent commencing at Genoa, it is probable this ship was not so far to the eastward as what we now call the Levant sea.

About the same time a great tumult happened in Fleet-street, between the students of the inns of court and the neighbouring inhabitants, in which the queen's attorney was killed: on which account the principals of Furnival's, Clifford's, and Barnard's, inns, were committed prisoners to the castle of Hertford, and William Taylor, alderman of the ward, and others, were committed to the castle of Windsor.

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* Survey, p. 38.

In the beginning of this year a reconciliation between the king and the Duke of York having been proposed, it was agreed that the principal leaders on both sides should meet in London for that purpose. Accordingly, the king and queen, the Dukes of York, Exeter, and Somerset, the Earls of Warwick, Northumberland, and Salisbury, with several others of the principal nobility, attended by their respective retinues, arrived in the city.

The mayor, considering that, in the temper of mind which had so lately prevailed, the stifled resentments of the most fiery among this vast multitude might again blaze forth and lead to disturbances within his jurisdiction, caused five thousand citizens to keep guard every day, under his immediate command, and two thousand every night, under the command of three aldermen; by which wise precaution the peace of the city was preserved.

At length a compromise having taken place, by which the Duke of York, with the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury, and some others of his friends, were to be admitted into the king's council, it was thought adviseable to make it known to the public in the most solemn manner: for which purpose, a procession was made to St. Paul's cathedral, on the fifth of April, 1458, in which the lords walked in pairs, that is to say, one of each party, hand in hand, and the Duke of York led the queen, with an external appearance of confidence.

But either from mistrust of the queen, or from some other motive, the partisans of the Duke of York soon quitted the court; and in the following year a quarrel happened in the court-yard, between a servant of the king and one belonging to the Earl of Warwick, in which the former, who was the aggressor,

gressor, and supposed to have been incited to provoke it, was severely wounded. Their companions on each side took part in the quarrel, which rose to such a height, that the attorney general was killed. The Earl of Warwick, who did not doubt that this was a contrivance of the queen to get him accused of having raised a tumult in the king's palace, fled to his government of Calais, but first concerted measures with the Duke of York for their mutual protection.

The mask was now thrown off, and both parties renewed their preparations for hostilities. At first the royalists were successful notwithstanding the loss of the battle of Bloreheath, and the Duke of York was compelled to take refuge in Ireland, as were his son, the Earl of March, and the Earl of Salisbury at Calais.

The court, naturally supposing the malecontents would not be long before they renewed their attempts, resolved to weaken them as much as possible during the interval of peace: to which end the king issued a commission for prosecuting all who had taken part with the Duke of York. The severity with which the commissioners acted so terrified the inhabitants of the county of Kent, who knew themselves to be the most guilty, that they invited the Earls of March, Warwick, and Salisbury, to come to their assistance, promising to live and die with them.

This invitation was joyfully accepted, and these lords soon after landed at Sandwich, where they found a considerable force ready to receive them, and in a few days their army was increased to forty thousand men.

Information of these proceedings being given to the king, he commanded Lord Scales to march with a large body of troops to possess himself of the city of London; but the citizens favouring the York party, the mayor refused to permit an armed force to come within his jurisdiction.

Lord Scales foreseeing the intention of the citizens to admit the Earl of March, took possession of the Tower, and threatened to lay the city in ashes, in case the rebels were admitted: but his menaces failed of effect, for the Earl of March no sooner appeared before the gates of the city, than he was received with the loudest acclamations of joy.

Having secured London, the earl marched with twenty-five thousand men in quest of the king, and left the Earl of Salisbury, with a sufficient force, to defend the city against Lord Scales, who carried his menaces into execution, and plied the city with his ordnance in such a manner as to destroy a number of houses; till the Earl of Salisbury, by blocking up the Tower on every side, and erecting a battery on the other side of the Thames, obliged his lordship to desist from firing upon London. This was followed by the rout of the king's army near Northampton; the imprisonment of the king in the Bishop of London's palace; and the surrender of the Tower, upon certain conditions: but Lord Scales, not trusting to those conditions, attempted to escape in disguise by water; but being discovered, he was knocked on the head by the Earl of Warwick's watermen, who stripped him, and cast his naked body on the shore, where it laid several days exposed without burial or pity.

No inquiry being made after the perpetrators of this horrid deed, it gave encouragement to a kind of proscription, and among others who suffered death by the violence of the mob, was Thorpe, formerly speaker of the house of commons, but at this time a baron of the Exchequer.

Hitherto the Duke of York had never openly advanced any claim to the crown, but, appearing at the parliament which met at Westminster on the 7th of October, 1460, he submitted his pretensions to the house of peers, and exhorted them to do justice to him as the lineal successor, thus pleading his cause before them as his natural and legal judges.

The peers took the matter into consideration with as much tranquillity as though it had been a common subject of debate, and, having obtained the assistance of some leading members among the commons, admitted the validity of his title; but, in consideration of Henry's long reign, it was determined that he should retain the regal dignity during his life; that the administration of the government should be vested in the Duke of York; and, that he should be acknowledged the true and lawful heir to the crown.

This accommodation having been consented to by the king and the Duke of York, was celebrated on the first of November, by a solemn procession to St. Paul's, at which Henry and the lords assisted. It was also notified to the nation, by Henry's letters patent, and the duke was proclaimed protector of the kingdom, and heir-apparent of the crown, through the city of London, on the Saturday following, amidst the repeated acclamations of the people.

The queen was filled with inexpressible fury when she received the news of the compromise between her husband and the Duke of York, which at once excluded her from power, and her son from the succession. She immediately set about levying forces for undoing all that the parliament had done, and, in a short time, got together a considerable army, all determined to stand by the house of Lancaster.

The Duke of York having an intire influence over the king, prevailed on him to sign an order for the queen to repair immediately to London: but no regard being paid on her part to this extorted summons, putting the king under the care of the Earl of Warwick, he set out to attack the army of the queen. A dreadful battle ensued, in which the Duke of York was slain; and Lord Clifford cutting off his head, sent it to the queen, who crowned it with a diadem of paper, in derision of his pretensions, and then sent it to be fixed on the walls of York.

The resentment of the queen was not yet satisfied; she had a farther triumph by the Earl of Salisbury, and some other persons of quality, being made prisoners, who were soon after sent to Pontefract, and there beheaded; after which their heads were set upon poles on each side that of the Duke of York.

Edward Plantagenet, hitherto called Earl of March, but now, by the above fatal event, possessor of the title of Duke of York, was raising forces in Wales when he received the news of his father's death: far from being discouraged by this dreadful accident, he was inspired with the most implacable resentment, and determined to hazard his life and fortune in revenging the untimely fall of the author of his birth, and asserting his pretensions to the crown.

In the mean time the queen, with her son the Prince of Wales, was advancing towards London with a numerous army.

The Earl of Warwick, distrusting the affection of the Londoners, did not choose to be shut up within the walls to wait the queen's arrival, but resolved to march and attack her. Accordingly, taking Henry along with him, he advanced as far as St. Alban's, though with a force much inferior to that of the queen.

The two armies met on Barnard's-heath, near St. Alban's, when a desperate battle ensued, in which the Earl of Warwick had at first a considerable advantage, but through the treachery of Lord Lovelace, in keeping back the principal part of the earl's army, victory declared in favour of the queen.

The principal advantage arising to the queen from this defeat, was the getting the king into her hands, whose name she could make use of to authorize her transactions.

The citizens were now under great apprehensions of being plundered by the queen's troops, who committed the most intolerable ravages in their march, and had already plundered the town of St. Alban's; but they were still more afraid of incurring the displeasure of a victorious army, whom they could not oppose. However, the queen giving them time to recover themselves, and the ravages of her troops being represented in the most glaring light, the citizens determined at all events to oppose her entrance into London; nay, they even went so far as to seize several waggons loaded with provisions, that the mayor was sending to her army at St. Alban's, and killed those of her party who were detached to escort them.

The queen denounced vengeance against the Londoners for this insult, and had actually sent a body of forces to get admittance into the city, intending to follow with her whole army; but the detachment was cut in pieces, and at the same time she received intelligence that the Duke of York and the Earl of Warwick had joined their forces, and begun their progress for London. This news obliged her to retire back to the north, where she hoped to increase her army to such a formidable number, as would insure success against all opposition.

The Duke of York entered London on the twenty-fourth of February, 1461, and was received by the citizens with the greatest demonstrations of joy; nor was it in London only where Edward had been the idol of the people, the multitude flocking in incredible numbers from all parts to his standard, each striving who should be foremost to offer their persons to fight his battles, and their purses to contribute towards the exigencies of his military operations. In a word, the tide of affection ran so rapidly in his favour, that it seemed to carry away with it all remembrance of Henry or the line of Lancaster.

The duke's friends, encouraged by these marks of attachment, resolved to improve so favourable an opportunity, and advance him to the throne by the consent of the people and the nobles. Accordingly, on the first of March, as the Lord Fauconbridge was exercising a body of four thousand men in the fields near Clerkenwell, and an infinite number of people were assembled, to amuse themselves with the sight, the Earl of Warwick rode into the midst of the multitude, holding in his hand the agreement made between Henry and the late Duke of York, and ratified by parliament, which he read aloud, and then appealed to all present; " whether Henry had not incurred the forfeiture expressed in it, by countenancing and joining the queen in her rebellion against his own deed, and that of the estates of the land?" This was loudly awswered in the affirmative. The Bishop of Exeter then addressing them, asked " if they would still have Henry of Lancaster for their king?" The whole multitude exclaimed against the proposal; but when he demanded " if they would acknowledge Edward, Duke of York, for their sovereign?" they one and all, shouting and clapping their hands, cried out, " King Edward for ever."

The experiment having thus succeeded to the wish of the party, a council was immediately assembled, at Baynard's Castle, at which were present the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Earl of Warwick, with many others of the principal nobility; and, it being resolved "that Henry had, by his breach of the late agreement, forfeited all claim to the benefit thereof, or to the possession of the throne, in which he had been indulged; and that Edward, Duke of York, ought to be acknowledged king, according to his right of blood;" they waited upon him, and petitioned him to assume the government of the kingdom; to which he consented.

The next day he rode in procession to St. Paul's cathedral, and there made his offering, Te Deum being sung with great solemnity. From thence he proceeded to Westminster Hall, and sitting on the throne, with the sceptre of Edward the Confessor in his hand, he was recognised by all present. Then returning to the city by water, he took up his residence in the Bishop of London's palace; and the same day, March 5, 1461, he was proclaimed in London and Westminster, by the name of Edward IV.

Thus ended the reign of Henry VI. having lasted upwards of thirty-eight years, during the whole of which period he cannot be said ever to have governed the kingdom of himself, having been continually the instrument of the most crafty or the most fortunate of his courtiers, or of his queen.

To those who take delight in comparing modern times with the past, in order to show the progressive degeneracy of the human race, it may not be useless to offer the following sketch of the manners of our forefathers in this reign, nor will its authenticity be disputed, when they learn that its author, Sir John Fortescue, was chief justice of the court of

King's Bench to Henry VI. It is transcribed literally from his Difference between an Absolute and Limited Monarchy, Chap. 13.

"It hath been often seen in England, that three or four thefes hath sett upon 7 or 8 true men, and robyd them al. But it hath not ben seen in Fraunce, that 7 or 8 thefes have been hardy to robbe three or four true men. Wherefor it is right seld that Frenchmen be hangyd for robberye, for that they have no hartys to do so terrible an acte. There be therefore mo men hangyd in England, in a yere, for robberye and manslaughter, than there be hangyd in Fraunce for such cause of crime, in 7 yers. There is no man hangyd in Scotland in 7 yers together for robberye; and yet they be often tymes hangyd for larceny and stelyng of goods in the absence of the owner thereof: but their harts serve them not to take a mauny's goods, while he is present and will defend it; which manner of taking is called robberye. But the English men be of another corage; for if he be poer, and see another man havyng richesse, which may be takyng from him by might, he wol not spare to do so." Few modern judges would think this a subject of boasting.

But though the turbulence and want of moral culture during this period gave rise to a ferocity of manners, happily no longer known, the magnificence and ostentatious pride of the rich promoted the cultivation of a part of the fine arts, which arrived at very great perfection in the metropolis.

Thus we find from the Fœdera*, that the alabaster tomb of John IV. Duke of Brittany, was made in London by Thomas Colyn, Thomas Holewell, and Thomas Poppehowe; and was carried by them to Nantes, and erected in the cathedral there in the year 1408.

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[*] Vol. VIII. p. 510.

Stow says*, " John Carpenter, town clerk of London, in the reign of Henry V. caused, with great expenses, to be curiously painted upon board, about the north cloister of St. Paul's, a monument of death, leading all estates, with the speeches of death, and the answer of every state." This famous picture, which was preserved until 1549, was called the Dance of Death. It contained the figures of persons, in all the different ranks of life, in their proper dresses. The verses, which were in French, were translated by John Lydgate, the poet of Bury.

" Of the five artists † who were employed in erecting the monument of the Earl of Warwick, who died in 1439, and adorning it with images, four were Englishmen; the other was a Dutch goldsmith. The number of the images was thirty-two, besides the great image of the earl. These were all cast of the finest latten, by William Austin, founder of London."

This monument was erected in the chapel of Our Lady, in St. Mary's church, Warwick, which was also built about the same time. The expense of painting this monument and chapel was considerable: the paintings were of different kinds, and performed by different artists.

" John Purdde ‡, glazier in Westminster, engaged to glaze the chapel with glass from beyond the seas, of the finest colours, of blue, yellow, red, purpure, sanguine, and violet, and of all other colours that shall be most necessary and best, to make rich and embellish the matters, images and stories, that shall be delivered to him, by patterns on paper, afterwards to be newly traced and pictured by another painter, in rich colour, at his charges. The glass and workmanship cost one hundred and eight pounds.

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* Survey, p. 110.

† Dugdale's Warwickshire, Vol. I. p. 445, 446. ‡ Ibid. p. 447.

"John Brentwood, steyner, of London, covenanted to paint fine and curiously, on the west wall of the chapel, the dome of our Lord God Jesus, and all manner of devices and imagery thereto belonging, of fair and sightly proportion, for which he was to receive thirteen pounds six shillings and eight pence.

"Christian Coliburne, painter in London, covenanted to paint in most fine, fairest, and curious wise, four images of stone, ordained for the new chapel in Warwick; whereof two principal images, the one of our Lady, the other of St. Gabriel the angel; and two less images, one of St. Anne, and another of St. George: these four to be painted with the finest oil colours, in the richest, finest, and freshest clothings that may be made of fine gold, azure, fine purpure, fine white, and other finest colours necessary, garnished, bordered, and powdered, in the finest and curiousest wise."

We have no opportunity of knowing with what taste these works were executed; but it was certainly intended that they should be very fine. These instances, however, are sufficient to show that the London artists were thought competent to the execution of them.

CHAP XXI.

CHAP. XXI.

Accession of Edward IV.—Walter Walker Beheaded.—The King's Coronation.—His first Charter.—Acts to prevent the Importation of Corn and foreign Manufactures.—Charter to the Merchants of the Steel-yard.—Second Charter to London.—The Mayor's Claim of precedency.—The King's Marriage.—Act to prohibit wearing Long-toed Shoes.—Gallows on Tower-hill.—Henry taken Prisoner.—Impeachment of Sir Thomas Cook.—Tournament in Smithfield.—Perjured Jury punished.

EDWARD was in his twentieth year when he obtained possession of the throne, by the tumultuous election of his own party. Bold, active, and enterprizing, he was fitted to make his way through the scene of war, havock, and devastation, which must secure him on it; while the hardness of his heart, and the severity of his character, rendered him impregnable to all those movements of compassion which might relax his vigour in the prosecution of the most bloody revenge upon his enemies. He had scarcely felt the weight of a crown when he gave symptoms of his sanguinary disposition. One Walter Walker, an eminent grocer in Cheapside, having jocosely said, that he would make his son heir to the crown, meaning his own shop, of which that was the sign, it came to the knowledge of the king, who ordered the unfortunate man to be beheaded in Smithfield, for this imaginary crime, on the eighth day of his reign.

On the same day Edward marched his army through Bishopsgate to the north in quest of Henry, who had raised an army of sixty thousand men; and, meeting him at Towton, in Yorkshire, a desperate engagement ensued, at the close of which, victory declared in favour of the king, who having taken measures for preserving the peace in the north, set off on his return, and, in the beginning of June, arrived at his manor of Sheen, where he resided till all things were prepared for his coronation.

On the 27th of June his majesty went from thence to London, and was met at Lambeth by the mayor and aldermen, in their formalities, dressed in scarlet, attended by four hundred citizens on horseback, all cloathed in green, and richly accoutred, by whom he was conducted to the Tower of London; from whence, two days after, he rode through the city to Westminster, and was crowned at St. Peter's, on which occasion, the public rejoicings in the city were exceedingly great.

In the month of July, following, one John David, servant of the king's household, had one of his hands cut off at the Standard in Cheapside, for striking a man within the palace of Westminster.

To show his gratitude to the citizens of London for the many great and signal services done to him, Edward, in the second year of his reign, granted them the following charter:

"Edward, by the grace of God, king of England "and France, and lord of Ireland; to all archbishops, "&c. greeting:

"Although as we understand, such things alto-"gether as ought to be holden and determined by "conservators of the peace, and justices assigned for "hearing and determining divers felonies, trespasses, "and misdemeanors in all the counties of our realm "of England, by the king's authority, by virtue of "the ordinances and statutes of our realm aforesaid, "made for the good of the peace, and rule of our "people, have always, time out of mind, been used

" and well affirmed, and yet be in our city of London: " Nevertheless, to the end that from henceforth one " good, certain, and undoubted manner, may be " continually had in our said city, for the conservation of the peace, and governing our people of the " same, and that the same may always be and remain a city of peace and quietness; we will, of our " mere motion, and by tenor of these presents, do " grant, for us, and as much as in us is, to the " mayor and commonalty of the city aforesaid, and " to the citizens of the same, and to their successors " for ever, that they may have and hold all and singular their liberties and free customs, as whole and " sound as ever they had and held them in all time " of our progenitors. And further, we grant, for us " and our heirs aforesaid, to the mayor and commonalty, and citizens, and to their successors, the " liberties and authorities, acquittals and franchises, " under-written; that is to say, that from henceforth the mayor and recorder of the said city who " now be, and their successors, and the mayors and " recorders which for the time shall be, as well those " aldermen which before this time have been " mayors of the same city, as other aldermen who " shall hereafter sustain the charge of mayoralty, " and shall not be thereof dismissed, as long as they " shall there remain aldermen for ever; shall be " conservators of the present peace of our city, and " the peace of our successors of the said city and " liberties thereof as well by land as by water. " And to keep, or cause to be kept, all ordinances " and statutes, made and to be made for the good " of our peace, and for the quietness, rule and " government of our people, in all their articles, as " well within the city aforesaid, as the liberty and " suburbs of the same, as well by land as by water, " according to all the force, form, and effect, of the

" same, and to chastise and punish whom they
" shall find offending, contrary to the form and
" effect of the said ordinances and statutes aforesaid,
" should be done. We will also and grant to the
" said mayor and commonalty and citizens, and
" their successors, that the now mayor and his successors
" aforesaid, and the recorder of the said city
" which for the time shall be: and such aldermen as
" aforesaid, or four of the same, mayor, recorder, and
" aldermen, of whom we will that such mayor for
" the time being, and his successors, to be one, be
" justices, and have so assigned them justices, for
" us and our successors, for ever; to inquire, hear,
" and determine, as often and at such times as to
" them shall seem meet, of all manner of felonies,
" trespasses, forestalling and regratings, extortions
" and other misdemeanors within the said city, or
" the liberties or suburbs thereof, as well by land as
" by water, by whomsoever, or after what manner
" soever, done or committed, and which from henceforth
" shall happen to be done: and also to hear
" and determine, to execute all and singular other
" things which shall pertain to our justices of peace
" within our realm of England. So always, that the
" said mayor and citizens, and their successors, may
" have and hold all and singular their ancient liberties
" and customs, whole free and sound, the premises
" in any thing notwithstanding. Given to our
" sheriffs of the city aforesaid, for the time being,
" and to their successors, and to all whatsoever
" citizens of the said city, which now be, and which
" hereafter for the time shall be, by tenor of these
" presents, streightly in commandment, that they
" be attendant, counselling, answering and aiding
" the said keepers of the peace aforesaid, to the
" now mayor, recorder, and their successors, and to
" such aldermen as aforesaid, in all things they do,

" or may pertain to the office of conservator of the " peace, and of such justices within the said city, " and the liberties thereof, according to the form " aforesaid, as often, and at such times, as shall be " by them, or any of them, on our behalf, duly required. Saving always to the mayor and commonalty, and the citizens of the same city, and to " their successors, the customs, liberties, and franchises, which we will and strictly command to " be inviolably observed in all things, as they and " their predecessors before the making of these presents observed the same: And because we understand, that by the most ancient custom of the " said city, it is there had, and in the circuits of the " justices of our progenitors, sometimes kings of " England, it is allowed to the said citizens, that the " mayor and aldermen of the said city, for the time " being, ought to record all their ancient customs by " word of mouth, as often and at such time as any " thing should be moved in act or question before " any judges or justices touching their customs " aforesaid; as in their claims in the last circuit of " justices holden at our Tower of London it is more " fully contained: We, considering the same thing, " being willing rather to enlarge than diminish the " custom of the said city, of our special grace have " granted, for us, our heirs and successors, unto the " said mayor and commonalty, and citizens, and their " successors, that whensoever any issue shall be " taken on any plea of, or upon the custom of the " city of London, between any parties in pleading " (yea though themselves be parties), or if any thing " in plea, act, and question, touching the said customs be moved, or happen before us or our heirs " to be holden, the justices of the common bench, " the treasurer and barons of our Exchequer, or of our " heirs, or before the barons of such like Exchequer,

" or any other the justices of us, or our heirs, which " shall exact or require inquisition, recognizance, " certificate or trial, the same mayor and aldermen " of the said city for the time being, and their successors, shall record, testify, and declare, whether " such be a custom or not, by the recorder of the " same city for the time being, by word of mouth; " and that there may be speedy process by that record, certificate, and declaration, such custom so " alleged shall be allowed for a custom, or accounted not for a custom, without any jury therefore to be taken, or further process thereupon to be " made. And furthermore, we have granted to " them, the mayor and commonalty, and citizens, " that though they and their successors, or the said " mayor and aldermen, and their predecessors in " time past, or their successors hereafter, have for " some cause perchance fully not used, or abused " any of the liberties, acquittals, grants, ordinances, " articles, or free customs, or other thing contained " in these our writings, or in other our writings, or " of our progenitors, sometimes kings of England, to " the same mayor and commonalty granted: notwithstanding we will not, that the same mayor and " commonalty, aldermen and citizens, or their successors, shall therefore incur the forfeitures of any " of the premises; but they and their successors may " from henceforth fully enjoy and use all and singular the liberties, grants, acquittals, ordinances, " articles, free customs, and other things whatsoever, " so not used or abused, in the charters aforesaid " contained, and every of them, without impeachment or let of us, or our heirs, justices, escheators, " sheriffs, or other our bailiffs and ministers, or of " any other whatsoever ally, statutes or ordinances " made, or judgments given; or any other charters, " or any the charters of our predecessors whatsoever,

" in times past granted to the contrary notwithstanding.

" And we, being willing further to do the said " mayor and commonalty a greater pleasure; and " also for the bettering and common profit of our " said city, will and grant to the said mayor and " commonalty, and their successors, that from henceforth all and singular merchants, as well denizens " as aliens, abiding within the said city, and the " liberties and suburbs of the same, and exercising " merchandizing or occupations there, by any means, " by themselves or others, though they be not of " the liberty of the same city, shall be partakers, " shall be taxed, and contribute according to their " faculties in subsidies, tallages, grants, and other " contributions whatsoever, by any means to be " assessed, for the need of us, or of our heirs, or of " the said city, for the maintenance of the state and " profit of the same with the citizens of the said " city: yet notwithstanding, that this our present " grant be not in prejudice or derogation of any " grants by us, or any of our progenitors, made or " granted to those merchants of Almaine, which " have a house in the city of London, which is commonly called the Guildhall of the Almains, or " their successors. And further, because it is well " known and manifest, that those of the said city " which are called elected, and taken to the degree " of aldermen, proper for the conditions and merits " requiring the same, have sustained and supported " great charges, cost, and pains, for the time they " make their abode and residence in the same city, " being vigilant for the common good, rule, and " government, of the same, and for that cause oftentimes do leave their possessions, and places in the " countries there; that, therefore, they, and every " of them, may, without all fear of unquietness or "molestation, peaceably abide and tarry in such "their houses, places and possessions, when they "shall return thither for comfort and recreation's sake. "We have, of our special grace, granted to the said "mayor and commonalty, and to their successors "aforesaid, that all and every of those which be "aldermen of the said city, and their successors "which for the time shall be aldermen there, for the "term of their lives shall have this liberty; that is to "say, that as long as they shall continue aldermen "there, and shall bear the charge of aldermen "proper; and also those which before had been "aldermen, and have also with their great costs and "expences born the offices of mayoralty, shall not "be put in any assizes, juries, or attaints, recognizances, or inquisitions, out of the said city; and "that they nor any of them shall be tryer and tryers "of the same, although they touch us, or our heirs, "or successors, or other whomsoever.

"And that without that city neither they nor any "of them be made collectors or collector, assessor, "taxer, overseer, or comptroller of the tenths, "fifteenths, taxes, tallages, subsidies, or other "charges, or impositions whatsoever, to us, our "heirs, or successors, hereafter to be granted or "given: and if they or any of them, be elected to "any of the offices or charges aforesaid, and that "the said mayor or aldermen do deny, refuse, or not "do the offices or charges aforesaid, then they, or "any of them, shall not by any means incur any "contempt, loss, pain, fine, imprisonment, or forfeiture, by occasion of their so refusing or not doing; "nor shall for that cause forfeit any issues by any "means; and further, as we understand, Lord Edward, some times king of England, the third, after "the conquest, our progenitor, with the assent of "the prelates, earls, barons, and commonalty of the "realm of England, assembled in parliament, holden "at Westminster, in the first year of his reign, at the "petition of the then citizens of the said city, by "his letters patent granted, for him and his heirs, "to the same citizens, the town of Southwark, with "the appurtenances, to have and to hold to them "and their successors, citizens of the same city, of "the same our progenitors, and their heirs for ever; "paying unto him by the year, at the exchequer of "him and his heirs, at the terms accustomed, the "farm therefore due and accustomed, as in the said "letters patent more fully is contained. And now "the mayor and commonalty of the said city, and "their predecessors, have and hold certain liberties "and franchises in the town aforesaid by virtue of "those letters patent; and do use the same as their "predecessors have had and held them, and have "used and enjoyed them; and they now fear that "divers doubts, opinions, varieties, ambiguities, "controversies and dissensions, may light, and be "likely to spring, grow, be imagined, holden, and "had in time to come, in and about the use and "exercise of such liberties and franchises, for want "of more clear and full declaration and expressing "of the same; for that divers diversly interpret, "judge, and understand: We therefore, to the end "to take away from henceforth and utterly to abolish "all and all manner of causes, occasions, and matters, "whereupon such opinions, ambiguities, varieties, "controversies, and dissensions may spring, be "holden, and moved in this behalf, have, of our special grace, and from our meer motion, granted to "the said mayor and commonalty of the said city "which now be, and their successors, mayor and "commonalty and citizens of that city, which for "the time being shall be for ever, the town of Southwark, with the appurtenances, with all chattels,

" called waif* and estray†; and also treasure found " in the town aforesaid, and all manner of handy- " work, goods and chattels of traitors, felons de- " famed, and denying the law of our land, where- " soever or before whomsoever justice shall be done " upon them; and also goods disclaimed, found, or " being within the town aforesaid; and also all man- " ner of escheats and forfeiture which may there " pertain unto us, as fully and wholly as we should " have them if the same town were in our hands. " And that it shall be lawful to the same mayor and " commonalty, and to their successors, by their de- " puty and ministers of the same town, to put them- " selves in possession of and in all the handyworks " and chattels of all manner of traitors, felons, fugi- " tives, outlaws, condemned, convicted, and of " felons defamed, and denying the laws of our land; " and also of and in all goods disclaimed, found, " and being within the said town; and also of and " in all the escheats and forfeitures to us and to our " heirs there pertaining. And that the same mayor " and commonalty, and citizens, and their succes- " sors, by themselves, or their deputy, or ministers, " may have, in the town aforesaid, assay‡ and " assize of bread, wine, beer, and ale, and all other " victuals and things whatsoever saleable in the " said town: and also all and whatsoever doth and " may appertain to the office of clerk of the market, " of our house, or of our heirs, together with the " correction and punishment of all persons there

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* Goods dropt by a thief being closely pursued or overloaded;

† Cattle lost; both which being found in any lordship, and not owned by any man; and being cried, according to law, in three markets adjoining, if it be not claimed by the owner in a year and a day, it is then the lord's of the soil where found.

‡ Tryal, proof.

" selling wine, bread, beer, ale, and other victuals; " and of all other inhabiting and exercising any arts " whatsoever, and with all manner of forfeitures, " fines, and amerciaments, to be forfeited; and all " other which there do, and in any time to come " may, pertain to us, our heirs, or successors: and " that they shall have, in the said town, the execution of all manner of writs, commandments, precepts, extracts, and warrants, with the return of " the same, by such their minister or deputy whom " they shall thereunto use; so always that the clerk " of the market of our house, or of the house of our " heirs, or the sheriff or escheator of the county of " Surrey, which now is, or hereafter shall be, do not " by any means intermeddle, enter, or do any execution. We have also granted to the said mayor, " and commonalty, and citizens, and their successors for ever, that they shall and may have, yearly, " one fair in the town aforesaid for three days, that " is to say, the 7th, 8th, and 9th days of September, " to be holden, together with a court of pye-powder*, and with all the liberties to such fairs appertaining: and that they may have and hold there " at their said courts, before their said ministers or " deputy, the said three days, from day to day, " hour to hour, and from time to time, all occasions, " plaints, and pleas of a court of pye-powder, together with all summons, attachments, arrests, " issues, fines, redemptions and commodities, and " other rights whatsoever, to the same court of pye-powder any way pertaining, without any impediment, let, or hindrance of us, our heirs or successors, or other our officers and ministers whatsoever. And also that they may there have a view

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* Held in fairs for enrolling contracts, and redressing disorders there committed.

" of frankpledge*, and whatsoever thereto per-
" taineth, together with all summons, attachments,
" arrests, issues, amerciaments, fines, redemptions,
" profits, commodities, and other things whatsoever,
" which there may or ought therefore to pertain to
" us, our heirs and successors. And furthermore
" the aforesaid mayor and commonalty, and citizens,
" and their successors, may by themselves, or by
" their minister or deputy in the said town appoint-
" ed, take and arrest all manner of felons, thieves,
" and other malefactors, found within the said town,
" and may lead them to our gaol of Newgate, safely
" to be kept until they shall be by process of law de-
" livered. And further, the said mayor and com-
" monalty, and citizens, and their successors, may
" for ever have, in the town aforesaid, all manner
" of liberties, privileges, franchises, acquittals, cus-
" toms, and rights, which we should or might there
" have if the said town were and remained in our
" hands, without any thing to be by any means
" given or paid to us, or our heirs, beside only 10l.
" for the ancient form therefore due; and without im-
" peachment, let, molestation, or disturbance, of us,
" our heirs, or successors, justices, escheators, sheriffs,
" officers, or ministers, of ours, or of our heirs or
" successors whatsoever; the rights, liberties, and
" franchises, of right belonging to the most reverend
" father and lord in Christ, Thomas, Archbishop of
" Canterbury, and of other persons there always
" saved; although express mention be not here
" made of the true yearly value of the premises, or
" of any other gifts or grants to the mayor and alder-
" men, sheriffs and citizens, or their successors, or
" any of them, made according to the form of the

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* Or surety for freemen of fourteen years and upwards, except clerks and knights; for all such freemen were to find security towards the king and his subjects, or else were to be sent to prison.

"statute thereof had, made and provided, or any "other statute, ordinance, act, thing, cause, or "matter whatsoever notwithstanding.

"These being witness: the reverend father "Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury; William, Archbishop of York; George of Exon, "Chancellor; and William, Bishop of Ely; "and our dear brother, George of Clarence, and "Richard of Gloucester, Dukes; and others. "Given by our hand at Westminster, the 9th "day of November, in the second year of our "reign."

This charter confirms all the ancient rights and privileges of London; and grants further, that the mayor, recorder, and aldermen past the chair, shall be perpetual justices of the peace, and justices of oyer and terminer for trying malefactors within their own jurisdiction. That the mayor and aldermen may, by the mouth of their recorder, declare whether a point in controversy be a custom of London or not. That the mayor and aldermen shall be exempt from serving in all foreign assizes, juries, or attaints, and from offices of assessor, collector of taxes, overseer, or comptroller of all public duties without the jurisdiction of the city. It also confirms the grant of the borough of Southwark, with the right of waifs, strays, and treasure-trove, *i. e.* of goods lost, beasts strayed, or hidden money, found; and entitles them to the goods and chattels of felons, traitors, &c. and to hold an annual fair in the said borough, at the fee-farm rent of 10l. per annum.

The low price of corn, in 1463, occasioned the passing of an act of parliament to prevent the importation of that article; the rates of which, at London, according to Bishop Fleetwood, were as follows, viz. wheat, two shillings; barley, one shilling; oats, one shilling; and pease, three shillings and fourpence, per quarter.

The manufacturers and tradesmen of London, and other parts, having made heavy complaints against the importation of foreign manufactured wares, which greatly obstructed their employment, an act of parliament was passed in the same session, "prohibiting the importation of woollen caps, woollen cloths, laces, corses, ribbands, fringes of silk and of thread, laces of thread, silk twined, silk in any wise embroidered, laces of gold, and of silk and gold, saddles, stirrups, or any harness pertaining to saddles, spurs, bosses for bridles, and irons, gridirons, locks, hammers, pinsons, fire-tongs, dripping-pans, dice, tennis-balls, points, purses, globes, girdles, harness for girdles, of iron, latten, steel, tin, or of alkemine; any thing wrought of any tawed leather, any tawed furs, buscanes, shoes, galoches, or corkes, knives, daggers, wood-knives, bodkins, shears for taylors, scissors, rasors, chessmen, playing cards, combs, pattins, pack-needles, painted ware, forcers, caskets, rings of copper or of latten gilt, chaffing dishes, hanging candlesticks, caffing balls, sacring balls, rings for curtains, ladles, scummers, counterfeit basons, ewers, hats, brushes, wool cards, black iron thread, commonly called and named white wire; upon forfeiture of the same, one moiety to the king, and the other to the informer. Irish manufactures are, however, excepted, and also such as should be taken at sea, or by wreck. Magistrates of cities and towns, are authorized to search for defective and unlawful wares, which shall be forfeited. Excepting, however, the liberty of the dean of the free chapel of St. Martins-le-Grand, in London, and its precinct."

This catalogue of merchandize may give an idea of the manufactures which were at that time brought to any perfection, and also of some of the domestic wants of our ancestors.

In the Fœdera* we find that in this year Edward gave the following charter to the German merchants of the Steel-yard, in London, viz.

"Calling to our remembrance the ancient alliance and friendship between the kingdoms, lands, and cities of Germany and England, which have been of late years, through various means, not a little impaired and violated; that peace and friendship may be renewed between both nations, we do hereby grant to the merchants of the kingdom of Germany, who have a house in the city of London, commonly called the Guildhall of the Germans, that, from Christmas last, they shall for two years and a half, enjoy all and singular the privileges, liberties, and free customs which they enjoyed by charters from our predecessors; and all those, without any impediment from us, or our officers and ministers whatever. And they shall be absolutely free from all manner of subsidies granted, or to be granted, to us and our heirs, as well on account of their persons, as of their goods and merchandize to be brought into, or exported out of England by any of them during the said term. Saving to us and our heirs our ancient prizes, rights, and customs whatsoever."

It is not at all improbable, considering the temper of the king, that this great attention to merchants was rather dictated by a crafty policy while his throne remained unsteady, than by a just estimate of the value of commerce to a state, for, in 1466, he squeezed a considerable sum out of these same merchants, under pretence of disputing the validity of the charters he thus confirms.

Whatever might be his views or his fears at this period (and it is probable the latter prevailed in a great degree, since in May, 1464, he issued an order requiring all his subjects, from sixteen to sixty years of age, to take arms, without any ostensible cause for such an armament); he found it his interest to keep well with the citizens of London, and accordingly he granted them a second charter, which is subjoined.

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* Vol. XI. p. 498.

"Edward, by the grace of God, king of England "and France, and lord of Ireland, to all to whom "these present letters shall come, greeting:

"Know ye, that for certain and notable causes, "us specially moving, of our special grace and "certain knowledge, we have granted to the "mayor and commonalty, and citizens of our said "city of London, that the tronage and weighing, "and measuring, laying-up, and placing, and "housing of whatsoever wools, by whomsoever, "from whatsoever parts, brought or to be brought "to the city aforesaid, or which have beforetime "been accustomed to be brought to the staple "at Westminster, shall from hence be, and be "made in the place called Leadenhall, within "our city aforesaid, and in no other place within "three miles of the said city, to have the laying-"up, placing, and housing aforesaid, together with "all fees, profits, and emoluments, to the same "laying-up, placing, and housing, or any of them "due, used, or accustomed, to the aforesaid mayor "and commonalty, and citizens of the same city, "and their successors, for ever, without any ac-"count to be made, or any other thing therefore "to us to be paid, although express mention be not "in these presents made of the clear yearly value "or certainty of the premises, or of any other gifts "or grants by us or our progenitors to the said

" mayor and other commonalty, and citizens, and their
" successors, by any means made, or any other statute,
" act, ordinance, or any other thing whatsoever
" made to the contrary notwithstanding.

" In witness whereof, we have caused these our
" letters to be made patents.

" Witness ourself at Westminster, the twenty-
" seventh day of August, in the third year of
" our reign."

In pursuance of this charter, Thomas Cook, Mayor of London, the city council, Geoffry Fielding, mayor of the staple at Westminster, and the king's council, were appointed to regulate the prices to be paid for warehouse-room and tronage in Leadenhall.

About this period an incident happened, which proves the high idea the magistrates of London entertained of their dignity. On a call of new serjeants at law, a grand entertainment was given at Ely-house, Holbourn; to which the mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and many of the principal citizens were invited. On sitting down at table, the lord treasurer, Baron Ruthen, took the most honourable place; this the lord mayor disputed with him, insisting, that, as the king's representative, he had the pre-eminence of all persons within the liberties of the city. The treasurer, however, remaining inflexible, the mayor resented it with becoming spirit, by withdrawing, and immediately returning to the city, where he provided an elegant repast for the entertainment of his fellow-citizens.

On the first of May, 1465, Edward married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Richard Woodville, and widow of Sir John Gray of Grooby, and she was crowned at Westminster, on the fifteenth of the same month; on which occasion, Sir Thomas Cook, Lord Mayor of London, was installed a Knight of the Bath. This hasty and inconsiderate match, by irritating all the great men of his court, was the chief cause of his subsequent misfortunes.

The follies of fashion are never so short-lived as when left to decay of themselves. None could be more absurd or inconvenient than that of shoes so long at the toe as to render it necessary their points should be fastened to the knees that they might not prevent the wearer from walking; yet this fashion, from being condemned by papal bulls, and vehemently declaimed against by the clergy, had continued, in a greater or less degree, for nearly three centuries. At length, in this year, an act of parliament was passed, in which it was ordained, that, for the future, the beaks or toes of shoes and boots should not exceed two inches in length, on the penalty of the wearer being excommunicated, and paying a fine of twenty shillings for each offence, to be equally divided between the king, the chamber of London, and the company of cordwainers.

In this year the king enlarged the fortifications of the Tower, and surrounded the encroachment made by a mud wall, in the year 1317, now called the bulwark, with a brick wall.

His officers also erected a scaffold and gallows on Tower-hill for the execution; but, on the complaint of the mayor and citizens, they were answered, that whatever was done was not in derogation of the city liberties, and the following proclamation was immediately issued:

"Forasmuch as on the seventh day of the present month of November, gallows were erected and set up besides our Tower of London, within the liberties and franchises of our city of London, in derogation and prejudice of the liberties and franchises of this city; the king our sovereign lord willeth, that it be certainly understood, that the erection and setting up of the said gallows was not done by his commandment. Wherefore, the king our sovereign lord willeth, that the erection or setting up of the said gallows be not any precedent or example thereby hereafter to be taken in hurt, prejudice, or derogation of the franchises, liberties, and privileges of the said city, which he at all times hath had, and hath in his benevolence, tender favour, and good grace, &c. At Winchester, November 9, in the fifth year of our reign."

In the year 1466, the deposed King Henry again fell into the hands of his enemies. Habington, in whose history, printed in 1640, most confidence is placed, says that he was apprehended in Lancashire, by Thomas, son of Sir Edward Talbot, of that county, as he sat at dinner at Waddington hall, who tied the king's legs to his stirrups, and conveyed him in that ignominious manner to London, where he was confined in the Tower.

One of the aldermen, John Darbian, was fined fifty pounds, by the court of aldermen, for opprobrious language given to the mayor in the execution of his office.

This year Sir Thomas Cook, late lord mayor, was impeached of high-treason by one Hawkins, a servant to Lord Wenlock, and committed prisoner to the Tower. And, notwithstanding on his trial he was acquitted of the imputation laid to his charge, he was obliged to purchase his liberty by paying the king the exorbitant sum of eight thousand pounds.

Soon after Michaelmas, this year, the court of England was graced with ambassadors from almost all the powers of Europe; but none made so splendid an appearance as Anthony, bastard of Burgundy, who was sent over by the Count de Charolois, to conclude a treaty of marriage between that prince and the Lady Margaret, sister to Edward; a match which was not consummated till two years after.

The bastard being greatly celebrated for his acts of chivalry, during his stay in England, challenged the Lord Scales, brother to the queen, to just with him, which the latter readily accepting, the king commanded lists to be prepared in Smithfield, and magnificent galleries erected for the reception of the illustrious spectators. The first day they justed on foot with spears, without any visible advantage on either side. The second day they were mounted on horseback; when Lord Scales having a long spike fixed on the pummel of his saddle, they were so closely engaged that the point of it ran into the nostrils of the bastard's horse, by which the beast was so frightened that he reared upright, and, falling backwards, dismounted his rider, who begged leave to postpone renewing the combat till next day. Accordingly, at the time appointed, the parties again met, and fought on foot with poll-axes; when Lord Scales soon penetrating the helmet of his antagonist, the king threw down his truncheon, and they were immediately parted by the marshal. The bastard, however, insisting upon fighting out that weapon, a council was held to deliberate on the matter, when it was at length determined, that if he persisted in renewing the combat, he must, according to the law of arms, be delivered to his adversary in the same situation as when he relinquished the combat the preceding day. But, rather than submit to these terms, he waved his pretensions.

In the year 1468, several of the London jury, having taken bribes to favour a prisoner, were apprehended and tried before the lord mayor for wilful and corrupt perjury; and, being convicted on the clearest evidence, they were sentenced to ride from Newgate to Cornhill, with paper mitres on their heads, where they were exposed on the pillory to the derision of the public, and then carried back in the same manner to Newgate.

On the 18th of June the Princess Margaret set out for Burgundy, to celebrate her nuptials with the Earl of of Charolois; on which occasion she was met in Cheapside by the mayor and aldermen, who, in the name of the citizens, presented her with two rich basons, containing one hundred pounds in gold.

CHAP. XXII.

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Commotions.—Edward escapes to Holland.—Birth of a Prince.—King Henry restored.—Gates's Riot.—Change of Administration.—Execution of the Earl of Worcester.—Parliament at St. Paul's.—Edward's Return.—The City espouses his Cause.—Battle of Barnet.—Queen Margaret and her Son taken Prisoners.—Insurrection under the Bastard of Fauconbridge.—The Mayor, Twelve Aldermen, and the Recorder, knighted.—Death of Henry VI.—Expenses of his Confinement and Funeral.—Introduction of the Art of Printing.—Manners of the Youth of London.—Stocks erected in every Ward.—Commercial Treaties.—Licences, non obstante.*—Benevolence demanded by the King.—Act of Common-council for regulating the Election of Mayor and Sheriffs.—The City Walls repaired.—Murder of the Duke of Clarence.—Edward's Third and Fourth Charters.—Dreadful Pestilence.—A Sheriff fined.—Fine for marrying an Orphan without Licence.—Remarkable Punishment of Sacrilege.—Royal Hunt and Feast for the Citizens' Ladies.—War with Scotland.—Loan from the City.—Preparations for an Expedition to France.—Death of Edward IV.*

New commotions distinguish the year 1469. Edward continued to heap favours upon the relations of his queen, to which the ancient nobility thought themselves entitled, and the rancour arising from this apparent slight, was taken advantage of by the Earl of Warwick, whose disgust was not lessened by the king's attentions, though he concealed his designs so well that Edward had no suspicions of him until he took up arms openly against him.

Several insurrections were the consequence of this disposition of mens' minds, in which the queen's father, the Earl of Rivers, was made prisoner, and beheaded, and the king himself was also, for a short time, prisoner to Warwick, in Middleham Castle, from whence he found means to escape.

After various turns of fortune, Edward was at length constrained to fly to Holland for safety, leaving his queen in the Tower of London, from whence she retired, on hearing of his escape, to the sanctuary at Westminster, where, in a few days after, she was delivered of a son, who was named Edward.

On Elizabeth's departure the custody of the Tower was committed to Sir Richard Lee, the lord mayor, and the aldermen; who, on the 12th of October, removed King Henry from the place of his confinement to the royal apartments.

Such a revolution could not be brought about without some distractions. Sir Geoffrey Gates, on this occasion, at the head of a set of rioters, collected from houses of bad repute, began with the plunder of the Flemish or other foreign merchants, who inhabited Mark-lane, then called Blanch Appleton. But, not strong enough to over-power the whole city, they marched for Kent; and, being joined there by a great body of thieves and robbers, they returned with a resolution to ransack London; the citizens, however, were strong enough to repulse that army of banditti, who pillaged Southwark; and, crossing the Thames, they carried fire and sword into St. Catharine's, Ratcliff, and Limehouse, at that time respectable villages on the east of the Tower, and upon the shore of the Thames; where they, not content with the plunder, burnt the houses, ravished the women, and murdered every one that dared to resist; till they were over-powered by an army under the command of the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, who hanged many of the ring-leaders.

Clarence and Warwick had now assumed the reins of government in the name of King Henry, and a complete change was effected in the administration of affairs. The Archbishop of York, Warwick's brother, was made chancellor; Warwick himself, Lord High Admiral of England; and the Duke of Clarence, Lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

The only execution which took place in consequence of this change was that of John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, who, having failed in his attempt to escape on Edward's abdication, was found concealed in a tree in the forest of Waybrig, in Huntingdonshire, condemned at Westminster, and beheaded on Tower-hill, October 15, 1470. He was accused of cruelty in the government of Ireland: but, according to Dr. Henry, his greatest crime, and that for which he suffered, was his steady loyalty to his rightful sovereign and generous benefactor, Edward IV. He was greatly distinguished among the nobility of his time, by his genius and love of learning.

The Parliament, which was summoned to meet at Westminster, was adjourned to St. Paul's, where it continued to sit from the 20th of November till Christmas. In it the restoration of Henry was solemnly approved; Edward was declared a traitor and usurper, and, with his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, attainted, and all his estates confiscated. The succession to the crown was settled on the male issue of Henry VI. and in default of it on the Duke of Clarence and his descendants. Henry's personal government was, however, dispensed with, and the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick were declared governors of the kingdom. In short, the parliament were wholly devoted to Warwick and his views.

During these violent proceedings, the lord mayor, John Stockton, had the prudence to avoid taking part in them, for which reason he feigned to be sick, and Sir Thomas Cook, a zealous Yorkist, was appointed his *locum tenens*.

But the preponderance of this party was of no long duration, for, on the 12th of March, 1471, Edward, assisted by the Duke of Burgundy, again landed in England, and proceeded with all the expedition the state of his affairs admitted of towards London, which Warwick had quitted in hopes of preventing his approach to the capital. The defection of Clarence, however, who now joined his brother, rendered this attempt abortive.

On being certified of this new change, the lord mayor and aldermen demanded and received the custody of the Tower in the name of Edward ; and, on the 11th of April, the king once more entered his capital in triumph, and was received by the citizens with the greatest demonstrations of joy: and Henry, who perhaps had never thought of escaping, was replaced in his confinement in the Tower.

Habington says, " that the citizens, out of a conscientious regard to the solemn oath which they had so lately taken to King Henry, and by the instigation of the Duke of Somerset, the Archbishop of York, and others of Warwick's friends, made some show of resistance ; but that self-preservation soon absolved them from that scruple, instructing them that oaths by fear extorted, lay no obligation on the soul." But the learned Dr. Kennet, in a note upon Habington's account of this matter, compared with that given by Philip de Comines, declares that the latter writes with more reason when he says, " that the citizens were interested in his restoration by the debts he owed them, as well as teazed by the importunity of their wives, with whom this amorous prince had formerly intrigued."

Edward had but just shown himself to the citizens of London, when he was compelled to go and put himself again at the head of his forces. The Earl of Warwick having received considerable reinforcements, had made long marches in hopes of bringing Edward to a battle before the city should have determined to receive him, and had reached St. Albans.

On the 14th of April, which happened to be Easter Sunday, the two armies met a little north from Barnet, and after a desperate battle, in which no quarter was given on Edward's side, Warwick was slain, and victory declared in favour of Edward, and confirmed him on the throne.

The battle was no sooner over than Edward posted to London, and proceeding to St. Paul's cathedrel, he there offered his own and his enemies' standards. The citizens being thus freed from their anxiety, and the dread of evils they expected had Warwick been successful, received him with every demonstration of joy.

After Edward had returned thanks at St. Paul's for his victory, he exposed the dead body of Warwick to public view for three successive days; and he also caused the captive King Henry to be conducted through the principal streets of the city, on horseback, clad in a long blue velvet robe, in order to convince the supporters of the Lancastrian party, that their hopes were at an end. But Margaret and her son having collected an inconsiderable force, Edward was again obliged to quit London to subdue them, which he accomplished at Tewksbury, making them both prisoners. The queen was brought to London, where she was confined in the Tower, for four years, until the King of France ransomed her for the sum of fifty thousand crowns: but the prince was murdered in cold blood after the battle!

During Edward's absence, a commotion happened in the interior part of the kingdom, which threatened him with the loss of his capital, and even of his crown. Thomas Neville, a natural son of William, Lord Fauconbridge, Earl of Kent, had been, by the late Earl of Warwick, appointed Vice Admiral of the Channel, but lost his employment after the death of that nobleman; upon which he withdrew, with the ships under his command, and for some time he and his crew led a life of piracy, assisted by a party of three hundred men from the garrison of Calais; and, tempted by the opportunity which the king's absence afforded, he ventured to make a descent with his forces on Sandwich, and was admitted into Canterbury by Nicholas Faunte, the mayor.

The people of the counties joining him, he began his march for London, at the head of seventeen thousand men, and on the 14th of May, 1471, entered the suburbs of Southwark, from whence he proposed to gain admittance into the city, over London-bridge; but the news of the king's victory arriving about the same time, the citizens were so encouraged thereby, that they resolutely opposed his entrance; and, though he made a desperate attempt to get possession of the bridge by storm, he was forced to desist, with some loss, notwithstanding he sent part of his army across the river to assault the city in another quarter; at the same time one part of this detachment actually made their way into the city through Aldgate, but were driven out again by the valour of Alderman Robert Bassett and the citizens.

The Bastard of Fauconbridge (for by that name this adventurer was known) finding himself thus baffled, and that his men, defeated of their hopes of plunder, began to desert him, embarked on board his ships, which lay at Blackwall, in the river Thames, and sailed round to Sandwich, whither King

Edward, who, upon the advice of this disturbance, had returned in great haste, with a party of three thousand men, to London, pursued him, and, reducing the town, took the bastard prisoner, together with several of the principal ring-leaders, who were all executed, and their heads fixed on London-bridge.

Stow says, that in this insurrection, the south gate on London-bridge, with thirteen houses, were burned by the mariners and sailors of Kent, Bastard Fauconbridge being their captain.

The king was so pleased with the gallant defence of the citizens, that on his return he knighted the mayor, John Stockton, with twelve of the aldermen, and the recorder.

Edward entered London in triumph, on the 21st of May, and next morning Henry VI. was found dead in the Tower. The manner of his death must for ever remain a secret, though it seems to have been the general opinion at the time that it was violent. The general manners of the age warrants this suspicion, which is rather increased than diminished, by the body being exposed to public view: that precaution served only to recal many similar instances in the English history and to suggest the comparison.

In the Fœdera* we have the expense of maintaining King Henry in the Tower of London, with the daily allowance for ten persons waiting on him for fourteen days, amounting in all to but four pounds five shillings, which is not quite eight shillings per day for him and his ten men. And in the same record the king's own diet, for two days, cost but three shillings and ten pence.

In another record, on the same page, is the expenses of his funeral, amounting, in the whole, to thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight pence; in which sum are included the fees of a priest, money paid for linen cloth of Holland and spices, fees to the torch-bearers, who attended the corpse to St. Paul's, and thence to Chertsey; also to two soldiers of Calais who watched the corpse, and for barges from London to Chertsey, with eight pounds twelve shillings and three pence distributed in charity to several religious orders.

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* Vol. XI. p. 712.

The year 1472 is rendered memorable by the introduction of the art of printing, which was brought into England by William Caxton, a mercer of London, and first practised in Westminster-abbey. What little learning hitherto existed remained in the hands of the clergy, who perverted it to suit their own purposes. Few books were written except idle legendary tales to preserve a spirit of superstition; and manuscript copies bore too high a price to be purchased by the common people. The first book printed by Caxton, in London, was a treatise on the game of chess, translated by himself from the French; it was not completed and published until 1474. He was patronized by the Earl of Rivers, who, translating "a collection of the dictes and sayings of the philosophers," gave it to Caxton; and it is reputed to have been the second book printed. It is said that a fair manuscript of this translation is preserved in the archbishop's library, at Lambeth; with an illumination representing the Earl of Rivers introducing Caxton to Edward IV. his queen and the prince.

This art soon got into great repute, for, previous to Caxton's death, which took place in 1491, we find Theodore Rood, John Lettou, William Macheline, and Wynkin de Worde, foreigners, and Thomas Hunt, an Englishman, all printers in London.

Caxton's opinion of the youth of London in his time, though not very flattering may be presumed to be correct. He says, "I see that the children that ben borne within the sayd cyte encrease and prouffyte not like their faders and olders; but for the moste parte, after that they ben comeyn to their perfight yeres of discrecion, and rypenes of age, how well that faders have lefte to them grete quantite of goodes, yet scarcely amonge ten two thrive. O blessed Lord! whan I remembre thys, I am al abashed: I cannot judge the cause; but fayrer, ne wyser, ne bet bespoken children in theyre youthe ben no wher than ther ben in London; but at thyr ful ryping there is no carnel, ne good corn founden, but chaff for the most part."*

Before this time there was only one pair of stocks in the city of London, at the place called Stocks-market, where the lord mayor's mansion-house now stands; but Sir William Hampton, who was mayor this year, issued his orders for erecting stocks in every ward for the more effectual punishment of vagabonds. He also endeavoured to suppress the common prostitutes which infested the city, by corporal punishment, and exposing them through the streets in an ignominious manner.

In the year 1473, it was ordained, that the sheriffs of London and Middlesex should each of them have sixteen serjeants, under whom should be the like number of yeomen; together with six clerks, namely, a secondary, a clerk of the papers, and four inferior clerks; besides those belonging to the under sheriff.

In this and the following year, several commercial treaties were entered into with the merchants of the Hans towns, by which among many other articles it was covenanted, that their Guildhall at the Steelyard, should be assigned to them and their successors, for ever, yielding yearly to the Mayor of London seventy pounds. And the said German merchants of the Steel-yard were to have the possessing and keeping of the gate of the city of London, called Bishopgate, as by ancient agreement between that city and them.

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* Ames's History of Printing, p. 37.

As these were the first general treaties which took place with the Hanseatic League, it may not be improper to observe here that the foreign trade carried on at that period differed greatly from that of the present day. Merchants did not carry their goods to the ports where they were to be finally disposed of, and used, but to certain emporia, called staple towns, where they met with customers from the countries where their goods were wanted, and with the commodities they wished to purchase for importation. This seems to have been owing to the imperfect state of navigation, which made long voyages tedious, and to the multiplicity of pirates, which made them dangerous. An advantage also attended it, in their being sure of finding a more complete assortment of goods for their purpose at those staple towns, than they could meet with any where else. This commercial league, therefore, who at that period were the great carriers of at least the northern part of Europe, established *comptoirs* at every principal trading or staple town where they could gain permission. Bruges, where the first of the treaties now spoken of was concluded, was the great emporium of Europe at this time, to which the merchants of the south and north conveyed their goods for sale; and so great was the resort to it, that in 1486, twelve years later, one hundred and fifty ships arrived at its harbour of Sluys in one day.

But whatever care was taken by the parliaments for regulating trade so as to give the English merchants some advantage on their own soil over the foreign merchants, the royal prerogative was too frequently exercised to their injury by the grant of licences, *non obstante*, whereby every regulation was dispensed with in favour of those who could procure them. Thus, in 1475, King Edward, having borrowed five thousand pounds of some Florentine merchants, gave them a licence to export from London, Sandwich, or Southampton, and in any ships, English or foreign wool, woollen cloth of any colour, lead, and tin, and to bring back to those three ports, in the same vessels, any merchandize from beyond sea, until they shall have repaid themselves out of the subsidies, customs, &c. which will be due to him on the said exports and imports; they not being bound to pay above four marks for the custom, subsidy, and other dues of the port of Calais on each sack of wool, and the usual custom and subsidy on cloth, lead, and tin.

The extraordinary revenues of the crown, that is, such as were granted by parliament on particular occasions, for particular purposes, having been carried as far as the people in their exhausted state, after so many civil commotions, were able to bear, in this year Edward had recourse to a new, and not very honourable, mode of raising a supply, by what was termed a benevolence. Having procured a list of all the opulent members of the community, he sent for them in turns, and by accompanying his representations of his necessities with smiles and promises, or with frowns and threats, as he saw occasion, he collected a greater sum of money than had ever been in the possession of a King of England. Upon this occasion he sent to the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and in a very pathetic speech exhorted them to set a good example to others by the liberality of their contributions. In obedience to his majesty's request, the mayor gave thirty pounds, several of the aldermen twenty marks, and the least ten pounds each. After this he sent for the richest commoners of the city, and addressing them in a similar manner, his eloquence, or some other cause, was so powerful that the major part of them gave him four pounds eleven shillings and four pence, which, according to computation, amounted to half the charge of a soldier for one year.

In this year an act of common-council was passed, by which the election of the mayor and sheriffs, which had hitherto been in the whole body of the citizen, was vested in the masters, wardens, and liverymen of the several companies of the city, as at the present time.

The walls of the city being in a very decayed state, the lord mayor and aldermen, in the year 1476 came to a resolution that they should be immediately repaired with bricks made of earth, dug, tempered, and burnt in Moorfields; and that the expense of these repairs should be defrayed by the inhabitants of the several parishes, each of whom should pay sixpence every Sunday, at church, towards the same. But the sums of money thus levied, being found insufficient to defray the whole expense, the several companies of drapers, skinners, and goldsmiths, repaired different parts of the wall at their own private charges. That is to say, the skinners undertook the repairs of that part of it between Aldgate and Bevis-marks; the drapers repaired all that part from Bishopgate to All-hallow's church, on the west side of the present Broad-street; from thence to Moorgate the repairs were at the expense of the estate of Sir John Crosby, late alderman, who left one hundred pounds for that particular use. From Moorgate to Cripplegate different companies contributed to the repairs, and from Cripplegate to Aldersgate the expense was borne by the goldsmiths. Here the work stopped. The town ditch was also cast and cleansed in the following year.

The commencement of the year 1478, was disgraced by the murder of the Duke of Clarence. Edward, who had long wanted to be rid of him, having found a pretext for bringing him to trial, summoned a council, to which, for the greater semblance of justice, the mayor and aldermen of London were invited, wherein the king, magnifying every indiscretion into a crime, loaded him with accusations. With the consent of the council he was committed to the Tower, and on the 16th of January was tried and found guilty of high treason. The trial was managed in a very uncommon and indecent manner; the king being the only pleader against the prisoner, and the duke the only person who dared to answer such a pleader. Clarence was condemned and received sentence of death, which was executed privately in the Tower on the 11th of March, but by whom, or in what manner, the historians of the time do not say. Fabian alone, who was a young man, says he was drowned in a butt of "malveseya;" but this is not probable.

In the year 1479, the citizens purchased a third charter of the king, for the sum of 1923l. 9s. 8d. part of the sum of 12,923l. 9s. 8d. which Edward was indebted to them, by which they obtained permission to purchase lands in mortmain, to the value of two hundred marks per annum.

They also obtained a fourth charter for remitting another sum of seven thousand pounds, part of the same debt, which being of more consequence, is given at length.

"Edward, by the grace of God, king of England "and France, and lord of Ireland, to all to whom "these present letters patent shall come, greeting.

"Know ye, that whereas the sum of 12,923l. 9s. "8d. is, amongst other things, due by us to our "well-beloved

" well-beloved the mayor and commonalty of our " city of London, as in the receipt of our Exchequer " more fully appeareth; of which said sum the " mayor and commonalty are willing to remit and " release unto us the sum of 7000l. to the intent " that we should vouchsafe to grant to the said " mayor and commonalty, and their successors, the " offices and occupations underwritten, to be had in " form following: We inwardly pondering not only " the premises, but also the manifold pleasures to " us by the mayor and commonalty of the said city " before time acceptably done, and willing, as we " are bound, before all other things, to pay or recompense our debts, have, of our special grace, " and for that the said mayor and commonalty have " for them and their successors remitted and released " unto us 7000l. parcel of the said 12,923l. 9s. 8d. " granted, and by these presents do grant to the said " mayor and commonalty, and their successors, in " full satisfaction and contentation of the said sum " of 7000l. to them by us due, the offices or occupations of packing all manner of woollen cloths, " sheep skins, calf skins, goat skins, vessels of amber, and all other merchandize whatsoever, to be " packed, tunned, piped, barrelled, or any wise to " be inclosed, with the oversight of opening all " manner of customable merchandizes, arriving at " the port of safety, as well by land as by water, " within the liberties and franchises of the said city " and suburbs of the same, as well of the goods of " denizens as of aliens, wheresoever they shall be " accustomed; and also the office of packing all " woollen cloths, sheep skins, lamb skins, goat skins, " and calf skins, with picking and poundering of the " same, and all amber vessels, and all other merchandizes to be packed, picked, and pounded in London, or the suburbs of the same, or to be carried

" by land, or to be customed as well concerning the " goods of merchants denizens, as of aliens; and also " the office of portage of all wools, sheep skins, tynn " bails, and other merchandizes whatsoever, which " shall be carried in London from the river of Thames, " unto the houses of strangers, and contrariwise " from the said houses unto the said water, or of " other merchandizes which ought to be carried, " being in any house for a time: and also the office " or occupation of garbling * of all manner of spices, " and other merchandizes, coming to the said city " at any time, which ought to be garbled: and the " office of gauger † within the said city: and also " the office of wine drawers, to provide for the carriage of wines brought to the port of the said city, " and laid on land, wheresoever it be, and elsewhere " to be carried; to have the occupations and offices " aforesaid, and every of them, and the dispositions, " ordinances, oversights, and corrections of the " same; together with the fees, profits, and emoluments to the same offices or occupations, and other " the premises, and every of them due, used, and " accustomed to the said mayor and commonalty, " and citizens of the said city, and to their successors for ever; and also the exercising of the same " offices by themselves, or by their sufficient deputies, without any account, or any other thing, to " us or our heirs therefore to be given or made, in " full satisfaction and contentation of the said sum " of 7000l. And further, Whereas our most dear " cousin Anthony, Earl Rivers, hath of our grant, " by our letters patent, the office of our chief butler ‡ " of England, under a certain form in the said letters

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* The sorting or culling the good from the bad.

† Measurer of casks or vessels containing liquids.

‡ Whose office was to require a certain impost upon sale wines imported from any ship of less burthen than forty tons.

" patent specified, by reason of which office the " earl hath granted, and pretendeth to grant, the " office of coroner within the said city and suburbs " thereof; we likewise, in satisfaction and contentation of the said sum of 7000l. to the said mayor " and commonalty as is aforesaid due, have of our " special grace granted, that the same mayor and " commonalty, and their successors, may lawfully " and safely grant the said office of coroner to any " person who shall please the said mayor and commonalty, and their successors, and may make a " coroner there whom shall please them, immediately and as soon as the said office of chief butler of England, or the office of coroner aforesaid " shall happen to be void, or to come to our gift by " the surrender of the said earl, or by any other " cause whatsoever. And we will, by these presents, that the same office of chief butler and " coroner be from henceforth severally and distinctly, " and altogether separated; and the coroner so made " by the said mayor and commonalty, or their successors, may have full power and authority to exercise and do all and singular things, which to the " office of coroner within the said city, and the " suburbs of the same, do pertain to be exercised " and done, so that none other our coroner, nor " of our heirs or successors, shall by any means " intermeddle within the said city, or the suburbs " of the same, although express mention of the true " yearly value, or certainty of the premises, or of " any of them, or of any other gifts or grants, by " us or our progenitors, to the said mayor and commonalty, and citizens, or to their predecessors " before this time, by any means made, be not in " these presents made, or any statute, act, ordinance, " or provision thereof made, published, or ordained " to the contrary, or any other thing to the con-

" trary notwithstanding. In witness whereof we
" have caused these our letters to be made patent.

" Witness myself at Westminster, the 20th day
" of June, in the 18th year of our reign."

In the month of September following, a dreadful pestilence broke out in London, which continued till November in the next year, during which unhappy visitation an incredible number of citizens fell victims to it.

The power of the city magistrates, at this time, was raised to a very high pitch. In the midst of this dreadful plague Robert Byfield, one of the sheriffs, having presumed to kneel close to the lord mayor, before St. Erkenwald's shrine, the mayor complained to the court of aldermen of having been rudely treated, wherefore the sheriff was fined fifty pounds, to be applied to the repairs of the city conduits.

One Robert Deynys, having, in the year 1480, married an orphan in the city, without licence of the magistrates, was adjudged, by the court of lord mayor and aldermen, to pay a fine of twenty pounds for the said offence.

In the same year a remarkable punishment was inflicted on four persons, who, having been tried for robbing of churches, and convicted, were sentenced to be hanged on Tower-hill, and their bodies burnt to ashes, together with the gibbet on which they were hanged; which sentence was accordingly carried into execution.

About this period the king, to evince his regard for the corporation of London, invited the mayor, aldermen, and chief citizens to a grand hunt on Waltham forest, in which several deer were killed, and the entertainment was concluded with a sumptuous and splendid feast, which the king caused to be provided in a beautiful arbour erected on the occasion. Shortly after, to show that he also wished to preserve a good understanding with the city ladies, his majesty sent a present of two harts, six bucks, and a ton of wine to the lady mayoress, who entertained the aldermens' ladies and others with this royal donation at Draper's-hall.

The Scots having invaded England in the year 1481, Edward raised an army of twenty-two thousand men, and applied to the city for a loan to enable him to defray the expense of it; whereupon the citizens agreed to lend him five thousand marks, which was raised by an assessment on each ward. The Scotch force was so formidable that Edward, with a view of enabling every man to take up arms, commanded all the courts to be shut, and put a stop to all law proceedings till Michaelmas: the event of the war was however favourable to England.

In 1483, Edward, convinced of the perfidy of France, prepared with great ardour for an expedition into that country; but an enemy against whom there is no defence, put a period to all his projects. He died at Westminster, April 9, in the 41st year of his age, and the 23d of his reign; but of what disease is not certainly known. The historian of Croyland ascribes his unexpected death to the anguish of his mind, and the bad habit of his body, brought on by his excesses.

CHAP. XXIII.

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Accession of Edward V.—State of Parties.—The young King's Friends made Prisoners.—The Queen and her Family take Sanctuary.—The Londoners arm.—Their Reception of the King.—Richard chosen Protector.—Get Possession of the Person of the Duke of York.—Lord Hastings and others of the Council accused of Treason.—Hastings beheaded.—Richard's Proclamation.—Illegal Execution of Lord Rivers and others.—The Lord Mayor made a Privy Counsellor.—The Marriage of Edward IV. questioned.—Dr. Shaw's Sermon at Paul's Cross.—The Duke of Buckingham proposes Richard for King, at a Common-hall.—The Lord Mayor and Citizens attend Richard with an offer of the Crown.—Gloucester proclaimed King by the Name of Richard III.—The Citizens claim the Privilege of officiating as Chief Butler at his Coronation.—Richard's Progress to the North.—Narrative of the Murder of the two Princes in the Tower.—Insurrection.—Act for restraining Foreign Merchants.—Another for preventing the Importation of Manufactured Goods.—Richmond's Invasion.—Battle of Bosworth, and Death of Richard.

Edward, Prince of Wales, the eldest son of Edward IV. was proclaimed King in London, on the day of his father's death, by the name of Edward V. He was then only in the thirteenth year of his age; but his title was so clear, that it was not imagined any dispute could possibly arise about his possession of the throne; though many dreaded that very violent disputes would arise about the administration of the government during his minority.

That their fears were but too well founded, is amply proved by the sequel. The queen, aided by her relations, and those who had attached themselves to her party in hopes of preferment, appears to have aspired to the regency. In this she was opposed by a considerable number of the old and faithful servants of the late king, who had relied upon their long services rather than on the countenance of the queen, in their pretensions to his favour. It appears probable that they had destined Richard, Duke of Gloucester, to be regent; at least it is certain that such an offer was made to him through Lord Hastings.

The great object of both parties was to get possession of the young king's person, in order to possess his power. At the time of his father's death, he was at Ludlow castle, under the care of the Earl of Rivers, his uncle.

The Duke of Gloucester was, at the same time, in the north of England; and, on receiving the news of Edward's death, proceeded to York, where he proclaimed Edward V. and took an oath of fealty to him. When, or by what motives a change was produced in his views cannot now be ascertained; but every thing warrants the conjecture that, at the first, he had no intention of diverting the succession out of its proper course; it is, however, equally evident that, having once determined upon making himself master of young Edward, his ambition was kindled, and nothing short of the crown could satiate it.

Accordingly, being joined by the Duke of Buckingham and a numerous retinue, he arrived at Northampton on the 29th of April. The king was then on his way to London, and, on the same day, reached Stony Stratford, ten miles from Northampton. Taking advantage of this proximity, and being without suspicion of Gloucester, Lord Rivers, with Lord Richard Grey, Sir Thomas Vaughan, and Sir Richard Hawse waited on the two dukes to concert measures with them relative to the coronation.

They were received with every appearance of cordiality, but next morning were sent prisoners to Pomfret castle. All the king's other attendants were dismissed, and a proclamation issued forbidding them to come near the court on pain of death. Still Gloucester professed the greatest loyalty and affection for the king, who was thus completely in his power.

When the news of these unexpected events reached London, the queen, who began to penetrate Gloucester's intentions, fled for refuge to the sanctuary at Westminster, with her children; and the citizens of London, who were no less alarmed than the nation in general, took up arms in great numbers and joined the nobility, who had done the same, until they could learn the motives for thus making a captive of their young monarch.

The Duke of Gloucester, unwilling to incense the Londoners, sent Lord Hastings, who was greatly esteemed by them, into the city, to assure them that his intentions were perfectly upright; that the king was in no danger, and the Earl Rivers, Lord Grey, and others, who were apprehended with his majesty, were arrested for conspiring against the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, as would soon appear by a legal course of justice.

Lord Hastings farther represented to the citizens the danger they would plunge themselves into if they did not lay down their arms and return to their respective habitations, without presuming to inquire into the conduct of their superiors.

His lordship concluded with assuring them, that the Duke of Gloucester and other lords were conducting the young king to London in order to celebrate his coronation.

This pacified the majority of the people; and Gloucester coming to London on the fourth of May, with the king, he was met at Hornsey park, by the mayor, aldermen, and five hundred of the principal citizens, richly dressed and mounted on fine horses, who conducted his majesty, with great pomp, to the city, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy and affection; and the same night took up his residence in the palace of the Bishop of London.

Whatever Gloucester's intentions were he still conducted himself so as to retain the appearance of loyalty, for, during the king's passage through the city, he rode before him bareheaded, calling to the people, "behold your king;" and, on his arrival at the bishop's palace, renewed his oath of fealty, in which he was followed by all the prelates and nobles present, together with the mayor and aldermen of London.

A few days after, a council was assembled, consisting of all the prelates, nobles, and great men in and about London, by whom the Duke of Gloucester was unanimously chosen protector of the king and kingdom. By this council, too, after some deliberation, it was agreed that the king should be lodged in the Tower of London, from whence, at that time, the kings commonly rode in state to Westminster on the day before their coronation.

Hitherto no action of the Duke of Gloucester warrants the conclusion that he aspired to any thing beyond the protectorship. He had adhered steadily to the late king in all his fortunes, and made the strongest professions of loyalty and affection for his son; and, had he died at this period, he would probably have been handed down to posterity with the character of a brave and wise prince.

As soon as he was invested with the protectorship, he proceeded with great apparent alacrity in making preparations for the coronation, which was appointed to be at Westminster, on the 22d of June.

In the mean time his first step was to draw the queen from sanctuary, and get her other son, the Duke of York, also lodged in the Tower. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York were sent to the queen on this errand, and prevailed on her to trust him to his uncle's protection, to which she consented, though with reluctance. He also issued a proclamation requiring all gentlemen possessed of forty pounds a year in land, to come to London to receive the honour of knighthood; and, so late as June 5, he invited fifty young noblemen and gentlemen of the best families, to appear before the king in the Tower of London, four days before his coronation, to receive the noble order of knighthood, probably meaning the order of the Bath.

At length the mask was thrown off. On the 13th of June, one part of the council met at Westminster, to notify the day of the coronation, in form, to the mayor and aldermen of London; the other part of it, with the protector, met in the Tower. As this part of the council was deliberating on business, the door of the room was suddenly opened, and a party of armed men rushed in, crying, treason! treason! One of them wounded Lord Stanley on the head with a pole-axe; and they instantly seized that nobleman, with the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Ely, and Lord Hastings. The astonishment of the prisoners was inexpressible, especially of Lord Hastings, when he heard the protector (with whom he believed he stood in the highest favour) pronounce him a traitor, and command him to be instantly beheaded. This cruel command was executed with equal cruelty; for, having allowed him only a few moments to confess to a priest, they beheaded him on a log of wood which lay accidentally in a court of the Tower. The other prisoners were conveyed to different apartments in that fortress.

Richard, being apprehensive that the death of a nobleman, so distinguished, and so very popular as Hastings was, might, from the illegal and sudden manner of it, occasion a tumult in the city, sent for the mayor and principal citizens, to acquaint them with the reasons of such proceeding.

When the citizens arrived, they found him and his confidant, the Duke of Buckingham, clad in rusty armour, hastily put over their clothes, and affecting to be under the terror of an immediate insurrection. The Duke of Gloucester addressing himself to them, told them, "that the Lord Hastings, and some others, had formed a conspiracy for killing them both that day, in the council: that they had no certain information of it till ten o'clock in the morning, and had no time to provide for their defence, or to put on any armour but what came first to hand. That the suddenness of the execution, without a legal trial, was owing to the imminent danger of an insurrection to rescue him; and his guilt being evident, it was thought proper to inflict the deserved punishment of his crimes immediately, to secure the peace of the nation." And he concluded with telling the mayor and his brethren, "that he had sent for them to be witnesses of the truth, that they might acquaint the people, and prevent or appease the commotions which ill-affected persons might endeavour to excite in the city."

Though they seemed to approve of this speech, and declared their readiness to obey his commands, Richard was doubtful of their sincerity, and sent a herald at arms into the city to publish a proclamation to the following effect, in all the public places, viz.

"That the Lord Hastings, with divers other wicked conspirators, had traiterously contrived the same day to have slain the protector and the Duke of Buckingham sitting in council, with a purpose and design to take upon him the government of the king and kingdom, and rule all things at his pleasure, hoping, that, when they were dead, they should meet no opposition in their designs: And in how miserable a condition this nation had been, if God had left them in his hands, appeared from the former actions of the said lord, who, being so ill a man, could not make a good governor; for he it was, that by his ill advice enticed the king's father to many things much redounding to his dishonour, and the universal damage and detriment of the realm, leading him into debauchery by his exemplary wickedness, and procuring lewd and ungracious persons to gratify his lusts, and particular Shore's wife, who was one of his secret council in this treason; by which lewd living the said king not only shortened his days, but also was forced to oppress and tax his people, that he might have sufficient to gratify his expenses; and, since the death of the said king, he hath lived in a continual incontinency with the said Shore's wife, and lay nightly with her, and particularly the very night before his death; so that it was no marvel, if his ungracious life brought him to as unhappy a death, which he was put to by the special command of the king's highness, and of his honourable and faithful council, both for his own demerits, being so openly taken in his intended treason; and also, lest any delay of his execution might have encouraged other mischievous persons, who were engaged in the conspiracy with him, to make an insurrection for his deliverance; which being wisely foreseen, and as effectually prevented, was the only means under God's providence to preserve the whole realm in peace and quietness."

This attempt had no better success than the former; for the citizens, reflecting on the great length of the proclamation, the elegancy of its composition, and the beautiful manner of its being ingrossed on parchment, and yet published within two hours after Hastings's execution, concluded that his death was predetermined, and that the proclamation had been prepared before his execution.

On the same day a similar tragedy was acted at Pomfret. Lord Rivers, with the other prisoners, were beheaded without any trial, and with some circumstances of peculiar cruelty. This horrid deed was perpetrated under the direction of Sir Richard Ratcliff, a great confidant and zealous partisan of the protector.

Gloucester, having failed in both his attempts on the credulity of the citizens of London, was obliged to seek other means of engaging their favour, for without it, he apprehended it would be impossible to ascend the throne. He therefore made Sir Edmund Shaw, the lord mayor, a privy counsellor; by which means he gained the interest of Dr. Ralph Shaw, his brother, an eloquent and popular preacher.

His next step was to endeavour to induce a belief that the young king and his brother were illegitimate. The licentious life of Edward IV. who, in his pleasures, was not restrained either by honour or prudence, afforded a pretext for declaring his marriage with their mother invalid. To this end it was asserted that he was married to Lady Eleanor Talbot at the time of his marriage with Lady Elizabeth Grey. But, fearing that this tale might not be sufficient for his purpose, he sacrificed the virtue of his own mother to his ambitious views, and accused her of infidelity to her husband's bed, and maintained that both Edward IV. and Clarence were bastards, and himself the only true and legitimate representative of the house of York.

This impudent and improbable story was given to Dr. Shaw, to handle in such a manner as would be most likely to prepare the minds of the people for approving Richard's title to the crown. Accordingly,

ingly, on the following Sunday morning, Shaw preached a sermon from the pulpit at St. Paul's Cross, taking the following text from the Wisdom of Solomon: "*Bastard slips shall take no deep root.*" Having enlarged on all the topics which could discredit the birth of Edward IV. the Duke of Clarence, and all their children, he broke out into a panegyric on the Duke of Gloucester; and exclaimed, "Behold this excellent prince, the express image of his noble father, the genuine descendant of the house of York; bearing, no less in the virtues of his mind than in the features of his countenance, the character of the gallant Richard, once your hero and favourite. He alone is entitled to your allegiance. He must deliver you from the dominion of all intruders. He alone can restore the lost glory and honour of the nation."

It had been previously concerted, that as the doctor should pronounce these words, the Duke of Gloucester should join the congregation; and it was expected that the audience would cry out "God save King Richard," which would have been laid hold of as a popular consent, and interpreted to be the voice of the nation; but by a ridiculous mistake, worthy of the whole scene, the duke did not appear until this part of the oration was recited by the preacher: the doctor was therefore obliged to repeat his rhetorical figure out of its proper place. The audience, however, less from the absurd conduct of the discourse, than from their detestation of these proceedings, kept a profound silence; and the protector and his preacher were equally abashed at the ill success of their stratagem. Fabian, who then resided in London, and was probably present at this famous sermon, says, "It was to the great abricion of all the audience, except such as favoured the mater, which were few in number,

ber, if the truth or plainness might have been shewed."

But the duke was too far advanced to recede from his criminal and ambitious purposes. The impression made by this sermon being unfavourable to them, a new expedient was resorted to. Orders were sent to the lord mayor, who was entirely in the protector's interest, to convene a common-hall on the Tuesday following, at which the Duke of Buckingham was to appear, and, in direct terms, propose Richard to be king.

The Duke of Buckingham was universally esteemed the finest speaker of his age and country; and no sooner was the assembly met, than the Duke ascended the hustings, and harangued the citizens in a most artful and elaborate speech, as follows:

"Gentlemen, out of the zeal and sincere affection we have for your persons and interests, we are come to acquaint you with a matter of high importance, equally pleasing to God and profitable to the commonwealth, and to none more than to you the citizens of this famous and honourable city: for the very thing which we believe you have a long time wanted and wished for; what you would have purchased at a great rate, and gone far to fetch, we are come hither to bring you, without any labour, trouble, cost, or peril to you. And what can this be but your own safety, the peace of your wives and daughters, the security of your goods and estates, which were all in danger until now? Who of you could call what he had his own? There were so many snares laid to deceive you; so many fines and forfeitures, taxes and impositions, of which there was no end, and often no necessity: or, if there was, it was occasioned by riots, and unreasonable waste, rather than a just and lawful charge for defence or honour of the state: your best citizens were plundered,

dered, and their wealth squandered by profuse favourites: fifteenths and the usual subsidies would not do; but, under the plausible name of benevolence, your goods were taken from you by the commissioners against your will; as if by that name was understood, that every man should pay, not what he pleased, but what the king would have him, who never was moderate in his demands, always exorbitant, turning forfeitures into fines, fines into ransoms, small offences into misprison of treasion, and misprision into treason itself. We need not give you examples of it: Burdet's case will never be forgot, who, for a word spoken in haste, was cruelly beheaded. Did not Judge Markham resign his office, rather than join with his brethren in passing that illegal sentence on that honest man? Were you not all witnesses of the barbarous treatment one of your own body, the worshipful Alderman Cook, met with? And yourselves know too well how many instances of this kind I might name among you.

"King Edward gaining the crown by conquest, all that were any ways related to those that were his enemies lay under the charge of treason. Thus half of the kingdom became at once traitors; for half of the kingdom were either friends to King Henry, or relations or friends to some that were so. Though open war with invaders is terrible and destructive to a nation, yet civil dissensions are much more fatal, and to be dreaded; with which his reign was more disturbed than the reigns of all his predecessors. But he is dead and gone; and God forgive his soul! It cost the people more blood and treasure to get the crown for this prince, than it had done to conquer France twice. Half of the nobility of the kingdom lost their lives or estates in the quarrel; and, when the dispute was over, the peace that followed was not much safer than the war: every rich and landed man was in danger; for whom could he trust that distrusted his own brother; whom spare, that killed his own brother; or who could perfectly love him, whom his own brother could not love? We shall, in honour to the memory of one that was our sovereign, forbear to mention who were the persons on whom he was so lavish of his favours: only it is well known that those that deserved them most had the least of them. Was not Shore's wife his chief minister? was there not more court made to her than all the lords of England, except those that were the strumpet's favourites? who, poor woman! was herself chaste, and of good reputation, till he deluded her to his lust, and tempted her from her husband, an honest substantial young man, whom you all know. Indeed, I am ashamed to say it, the king's appetite in that point was insatiable and intolerable. No woman could escape him: young or old, rich or poor, wife or virgin, all fell victims to his lust: by which means the most honourable houses were defiled, and the most honourable families were corrupted.

"You of this renowned city suffered most: you, who deserved most from him, for your readiness to serve the house of York with your lives and fortunes; which though he ill requited, there is of that house, who, by God's grace, shall reward you better. I shall not enlarge on this subject: you have heard it from one, whom ye will hearken to more, as you ought to do: for I am not so vain as to think what I can say will have so great authority with you as the words of a preacher; a man so wise and so pious, that he could not utter a thing, in the pulpit especially, which he did not firmly believe it was his duty to declare. You remember, I doubt not, how he set forth, last Sunday, the right of the most excellent Richard, Duke of Gloucester, to the crown of this realm: for, as he proved to you, the children of King Edward IV. were never lawfully begotten, the king leaving his lawful wife, the lady Lucy, to contract an illegal marriage with the queen. My noble lord, the protector's reverence to the dutchess his mother will not permit me to say any thing further concerning what the worthy doctor alleged of her familiarity with others besides her own husband, for fear of offending the Duke of Gloucester her own son: though, for these causes, the crown of England is devolved to the most excellent prince the lord protector, as the only lawful begotten son of the right noble Duke of York. This, and the consideration of his many high qualities, has prevailed with the lords and commons of England, of the northern counties especially, who have declared they will not have a bastard reign over them, to petition that high and mighty prince to take on him the sovereign power, for the good of the realm, to which he has so rightful and lawful a title. We have reason to fear he will not grant our request; being a prince whose wisdom foresees the labour, both of body and mind, that attends the supreme dignity; which is not a place for a child, as that wise man observed, who said, *Vœ regno cujus rex puer est*, i. e. *Woe to the realm whose king is a child*. Wherefore we have reason to bless God that the prince, whose right is to reign over us, is of so ripe age, so great wisdom and experience, who, though he is unwilling to take the government upon himself, yet the petition of the lords and gentlemen will meet with the more favourable acceptance, if you the worshipful citizens of the metropolis of the kingdom will join with us in our request; which for your welfare, we doubt not but you will. However, I heartily entreat you to do it for the common good of the people of England, whom you will oblige by choosing them so good a king, and his majesty by showing early your ready dispositions to his election; in which, my most dear friends, I require you, in the name of myself and these lords, to show us plainly your minds and intentions."

The injustice and absurdity of this speech produced such an effect on the citizens that they stood amazed, unable to express their abhorrence of the proposed measure.

The duke, heartily vexed at the stubbornness of the people, could not forbear hinting his disappointment to the mayor, who, not knowing what else to say, answered, that perhaps they were silent because they were accustomed to be harangued only by the recorder. On this he commanded that officer (Thomas Fitzwilliams) to speak to the people, which he at length undertook, though with great reluctance; repeating only the substance of what the duke had said, without adding a single word in favour of the protector.

This second effort making no deeper impression on the minds of the people than the first, the duke, after observing to the mayor their amazing obstinacy, once more addressed them as follows:

"Dear friends, we came to acquaint you with a thing which we needed not have done, had it not been for the affection we bear you. The lords and commons could have determined the matter without you, but would gladly have you join with us, which is for your honour and profit, though you do not see it, or consider it: We require you therefore to give your answer one way or another, whether you are willing, as the lords are, to have the most excellent prince the lord protector, to be your king, or not."

This speech, having the appearance of a menace, caused a general murmur among the people; when, at length, some of the protector's and of the duke's servants, having assembled a rabble of apprentices, forced their way into the hall, and throwing up their caps, exclaimed, "Long live King Richard!" This acclamation was seconded, within, by a few of the citizens, and, without, by the rabble surrounding the gates.

The Duke of Buckingham immediately embraced this opportunity of making his acknowledgments; and, as if the assent had been universal, addressed the assembly as follows:

"'Tis a good and joyful cry to hear every man with one voice agree to it. Since, therefore, dear friends, we see you are all, as one man, to have this noble prince to be your king, we shall report the matter so effectually to him, that we doubt not it will be much for your advantage. We require you to attend us to-morrow, with our joint petition to his grace, as has been already agreed on between us."

The citizens retired home with inexpressible grief at finding themselves so artfully and wickedly drawn in to foster the intended treason of dethroning the right heir to the crown. But the lord mayor, who had entered deeply into the protector's conspiracy to seize the crown, prevailed with the aldermen and several of the common council to accompany him on the following day, to Baynard's Castle, where the Duke of Gloucester then resided.

On their arrival, the Duke of Buckingham, who was accompanied by several noblemen, sent in a messenger to acquaint Richard that a great number of the nobility and citizens desired an audience on affairs of great importance.

The protector, at first, seemed to be much alarmed at so great a concourse, and to dread some design against his person, nor could he be prevailed upon to admit them until a second messenger was sent, who, in the most earnest and humble manner, en-
treated

treated the protector to grant the desired audience. During this interval Buckingham hinted to the mayor and citizens that Richard was totally ignorant of their design, and unacquainted with what had passed on the preceding day.

When they came into his presence, the Duke of Buckingham, having requested and obtained leave to speak for the whole, made a long harangue on the miseries and tyranny of the late reign, the illegality of Edward's marriage, the illegitimacy of his children, the protector's undoubted title to the crown, and concluded with an earnest request to him, in the name of that assembly, to take that crown to which he was so well intitled.

Richard pretended to be greatly surprized at the proposal, and, with an hypocritical reserve, answered the duke, "That, though he knew the things he had alleged to be true, yet he loved King Edward and his children above any crown whatsoever; and therefore could not grant their request: however, he pardoned their petition, and thanked them for their love; but desired them to be obedient to the prince under whom himself and they lived at that time; and whom he would advise to the best of his capacity, as he had already done, to the satisfaction of all parties."

In this strain he went on, till Buckingham, with a well counterfeited resentment at his pretended obstinacy, flatly told him, "That they were all agreed not to have any of King Edward's line to reign over them; that they were gone too far to go back; for which reason, if his grace would be pleased to take the crown upon him, they humbly beseeched him to do it; or, if he would give them a resolute answer to the contrary, which they should be unwilling to hear, they must and would look out for some other person that would accept of their proposal."

Richard, affecting to be greatly moved with this solemn declaration, yielded with hypocritical reluctance to their desires, and addressed them in the following terms:

"Since we perceive that the whole realm is bent upon it, not to have King Edward's children to govern over them, of which we are sorry; and knowing that the crown can belong to no man so justly as to ourself, the right heir, lawfully begotten of the body of our most dear father Richard, late Duke of York; to which title is now joined your election, the nobles and commons of this realm, which we, of all titles possible, take for the most effectual; we are content, and agree favourably to receive your petition and request, and, according to the same, take upon us the royal estate, pre-eminence, and kingdoms of the two noble realms of England and France; the one, from this day forward, by us and our heirs, to rule, govern, and defend; the other, by God's grace and your good help, to get again, subdue, and establish for ever in due obedience to this realm of England: and we ask God to live no longer than we intend to procure its advancement."

The conclusion of this mummery cannot be better described than in Richard's own words. In the account of his accession to the throne, which he sent to the garrison of Calais, to persuade them to take an oath of fealty to him, after mentioning the prelates, lords, and great men, with their numerous followers who came to him, next morning, at Baynard's Castle, he says they "porrected to him a bill of petition, wherein his sure and true title was evidently shewed and declared. Whereupon the kinge's highnis (so he now calls himself), notably assisted by wel nere al the lords spiritual and temporall of this royalme, went the same day unto the palais at Westminster, and ther, in such roial honourable apparrelled,

relled, within the gret hal ther toke possession, and declared his mind, that the same day he wold begin to reyne upon his people; and from thençe rode solempnly to the cathedral church of London, and was received ther with procession with gret congratulation and acclamation of al the people in every place."

In making his way to the throne, Richard had not trusted entirely to the clearness of his title, the number of his noble friends, or the favour of the people. A considerable number of armed followers had accompanied him from York; his principal accomplice, the Duke of Buckingham, had brought a still greater number, and had sent for many more from Wales; and an army of five thousand men had come from the north with Sir Richard Ratliffe, who commanded the whole. The proof given by the latter, at Pomfret, of his readiness to undertake the execution of the most horrid and atrocious deeds, added to the number of men under his command, must have had great influence in producing a tranquil acquiescence in Richard's machinations; without this clew the accomplishment of such a revolution unattended by tumult would be inexplicable.

On 27th of June he was proclaimed king, in London, by the title of Richard III. and immediately began making preparations for his coronation, which, at that time, was considered as of great importance to the establishment of the royal authority. That he once meant to grace his triumph over law and reason with the spectacle of his injured nephew degraded to the rank of his subject, is evident from the coronation-roll, which is still extant, and from which it appears that various robes were ordered for Lord Edward, son of the late King Edward IV. and his attendants. But more mature deliberation instructed him that such a sight would excite the compassion of the spectators too strongly, and perhaps give vent to that indignation which was only restrained by the presence of his troops. It is, however, certain that he did not appear there, for Fabian says, "that as soon as Richard accepted the sovereignty, the prince, or, of right, King Edward V. with his brother, the Duke of York, were put under surer kepynge in the Towre, in such wyse that they never came abrode after."

A few days before the coronation, Lord Howard was created Duke of Norfolk, and appointed high steward. The following letter to him shows that the citizens of London claimed their right to assist at that ceremony, in the office of chief butler, from which also it may be presumed that the citizens of Winchester had renewed their claim on this occasion.

To the Right High and Mighty Prince the Duke of Norfolk, Seneschal of England.

"Shewen unto your good and gracious lordship, the mair and citezeins of the citee of London, that where, after the liberty and commendable customes of the said citee, of time that no man's mind is to the contrary, used, enjoyed, and accustomed, the mair of the same citee for the time being, by reason of the office of mairalty of the said citee, in his own person, oweth of right and duty to serve the kyng our souvereign lord in the day of his ful noble coronation, in such place as it shall please his highness to take his spices, and the same cup, with the kevering belonging thereunto, and a layer (ewer) of gold, the said mair to have, and with him to bear away at the time of his departing, for his fee and reward.

"And also that divers other citezeins, that by the said mair and citee shal thereto be named and chosen, owen of right by the same custom, at the same day to serve in the office of butlership, in helping of the chief butler of England, to the lords and estates that shall be at the said coronation, as well at the table in the hall at meat, as after meat in the chamber.

"Beseeching your said lordship, that Edmund Shaa, now mair, and other citezeins of the citee aforesaid, to the said office and service now chosen, whose names, in a scedule hereunto annexed, be specified, may be admitted to do the same service, as their predecessors, mairs, and citezeins of the said citee, in case semblable, have used in days past.

"Also the said mair and citezeins praying, that they may sit, in the day of the said coronation, at the table next the cupboard, of the left side of the hall, lykes as of late tyme it hath been used and accustomed; and that the said mair may have and enjoy the said fee and reward, according to the dutie."

Which privilege was confirmed, by admitting the mayor and citizens to officiate at the coronation, according to their ancient rights and immunities.

The names of the citizens nominated by the common-council on this occasion to represent the city, as chief butler of England, where, Henry Cole, goldsmith; John Tote, mercer; William Sandes, grocer; William Sparke, clothworker; John Swane, cissor, *i. e.* taylor; Thomas Ostriche, haberdasher; William Mariner, salter; Richard Knight, fishmonger; John Pasmer, pillipar, *i. e.* skinner; Thomas Bretayn, ironmonger; and Roger Ford, vintner.

At length, all things being ready, Richard, accompanied by his queen, Ann Neville, youngest daughter of the great Earl of Warwick, rode through the city in grand state to Westminster, where they were crowned on the 6th of July, with the usual solemnities.

Having settled all affairs in London, and put a guard about the sanctuary at Westminster, to prevent the escape of the queen or her daughters, he set out on a progress through some parts of England, and passing through Windsor, Oxford, Gloucester, and Coventry, he at length stopped at York, where he appeared in all the pomp of royalty; and, in order to please his northern friends, and secure their favour, resolved to entertain them with a coronation, which took place on the 8th of September, in the cathedral of York, and was celebrated with uncommon magnificence.

According to most historians, it was during this progress that Richard accomplished the destruction of his two nephews. It is said that he sent one of his pages from Gloucester to Sir Robert Brackenbury, constable of the Tower, with a letter, or message, commanding him to murder the two young princes. Sir Robert declining the detestable office, Sir James Tyrrel, master of the horse, was sent from Warwick with a commission to command in the Tower for one night, and in that night the two young princes were suffocated in their beds, by two ruffians called Miles Forrest and John Dighton, and that their bodies were buried at the bottom of the stair-case.

Various are the opinions of writers concerning this tragedy, some peremptorily charging the whole guilt of it upon Richard, others endeavouring to exculpate him from it. That Richard got the crown by the most illegal means is undeniably certain; but this murder seems rather inconsistent with Richard's cunning and dissimulation; nor can we hardly suppose him so weak a man as to give such a bloody commission under his hand, or put it in the officer's power to blast that reputation which he was so anxious to preserve; besides, it may be considered, that after what had passed with regard to the illegitimacy of the young princes, it was scarcely worth Richard's notice to remove them by murder. That the two princes either died or disappeared about this time, is beyond all doubt, though no historian is absolutely positive as to their fate.

Walpole, whose Historic Doubts have been of such utility in rectifying many of the erroneous statements in the History of England, says, that this strange story was first told by Sir Thomas More, as one of the various tales he had heard concerning the death of the two princes; and, though it is very improbable, if not evidently false in some particulars, it hath been adopted by many subsequent historians.

Richard's tranquillity was of short duration; clouds began to gather in several places, and threatened him with a dreadful storm. No sooner had he quitted London, and the people were relieved from their dread of his northern and Welsh armies, than they began to murmur at the late transactions, and plots to release Edward V. were formed in different places. But, in August, a report was circulated, and generally believed, that the two young princes were murdered in the Tower. This obliged all the conspirators to look out for a proper person to substitute in the place of Richard, and at length Henry, Earl of Richmond, was fixed upon. The standard of revolt was erected by common consent on the 18th of October, at Brecknock, Exeter, Maidstone, Newbury, and Salisbury. In the mean time Richard, who was not unapprised of their intentions, made preparations to defeat them, and from a combination of fortunate and unexpected events, he was, at this time, completely successful, and this formidable insurrection was terminated in a few days without a single blow. Some few of the leaders of it were taken and executed; but the greater number escaped to the continent, or took shelter in sanctuaries.

Having restored tranquillity, Richard rewarded and sent home his northern troops, on whom he placed the most reliance. He then returned towards the capital, and was met at Kingston by the mayor and aldermen with about five hundred citizens, nobly mounted and richly dressed, who conducted him through the city to Westminster, where he celebrated the feast of Christmas with great pomp.

Richard seemed now to be firmly seated on the throne, and embraced this opportunity to call a parliament, which assembled at Westminster, January 20, 1484. Among the earliest of its acts was one declaring the marriage of Edward IV. with Lady Grey, illegal, and all their children bastards, and settling the crown on Richard and his posterity.

But his views of continuing the succession in his own family, were soon crushed by the death of Edward, his only legitimate child, in April following, after a short illness.

The number of Italian and other foreign merchants being at this time greatly increased in the city, they usurped many liberties, peculiar to the citizens, and engrossed most of the trade, both foreign and domestic; besides, having the balance of trade on their side, they drained the kingdom of cash by their vast remittances.

Commerce having continued on this foot for many years, it occasioned a great resort both of merchants and artificers, from most parts of Europe, to this city; insomuch, that they not only became the general traders and manufacturers of the kingdom, but likewise kept most of the inns and public-houses for the entertainment of strangers, and that without employing any English person in their service; by which practice, many of the meaner sort of citizens were reduced to very great straits; wherefore it was judged proper to apply to parliament for redress.

In compliance with this application, the ninth act of Richard's first parliament was passed to prevent the continuance of the evils complained of. It begins with observing, "That whereas merchant-strangers of the nation of Italy, as Venetians, Florentines, &c. do, in great numbers, keep houses in London, and other great cities and burghs, taking warehouses and cellars for the merchandize they import, and where they deceitfully pack, mingle, and keep their said merchandize, till their prices greatly advance. And they likewise buy here our native commodities, and sell them again at their pleasure; and do not employ a great part of the money coming thereof upon the commodities of this realm, but make it over sea to divers other countries, to the king's great loss in his customs, and the impoverishment of his subjects: And the said Italian and other merchant-strangers be hosts, and take to them people of other nations, and be with them daily, and do buy and sell, and make secret bargains with them. And do buy, in divers places of this realm, great quantities of wool, woollen cloth, and other merchandize of the king's subjects, part of which they sell again here. And great numbers of artificers and other strangers, with their families, daily resort to the city of London, and other cities and towns, much more than they were wont to do in times past; and instead of laborious occupations, such as going to plough, &c. do use the making of cloth and other easy occupations; and do also bring from beyond sea great quantities of wares to fairs, markets, &c. at their pleasure, and sell the same by retail as well as otherwise, to the great impoverishment of the king's subjects: neither will they take any of the king's subjects to work with them, but only people born in their own country, whereby the king's subjects fall into idleness, and be thieves, beggars, vagabonds, &c. And when those foreigners have gained in this realm great substance, they withdraw with the same out of the realm to foreign parts, as they please, and there spend that substance oft-times amongst the king's adversaries, &c. Wherefore it is now enacted, I. That all Italian merchants, who are not denizens, shall only sell their merchandize in gross, and not by retail to the king's subjects, within eight months after their importation, and in the ports they arrive at; and, within the same time, shall lay out the money in English commodities, and in nowise to make over such money by exchange. But if they cannot sell all their wares within the said term of eight months, then what shall remain unsold shall be carried beyond sea again within two months more. II. No merchant-stranger shall be an host to another merchant-stranger, unless he be of the same nation. III. Neither shall they sell or barter any wool, woollen cloth, or other English merchandize in the realm, which they shall have first bought here, but shall carry the same beyond sea through the Streights of Morocco. IV. No alien shall hereafter be a master-handicraftsman in England, but such of them as are skilled therein may be servants to English master-handicraftsmen, or else depart the realm. V. Neither shall they make any cloth, nor put any wool to work to make cloth. VI. Neither shall any foreign handicraftsman now in the realm, hereafter take any but English apprentices, or other servants to work with him, unless it be his son or daughter. VII. Yet aliens may import books, either written or printed, and sell the same here by retail, and may reside within this realm for the exercise of the printing, &c. of books."

The full recital of this act, and more particularly of its preamble, shows that the monopolizing spirit of the London merchants, and the imprudent regulations of the legislators, had not yet ceased. Though some of the evils detailed in it were real, yet the greater part of them were imaginary, and arose only from envy at the success of the foreign merchants, who, at this period, were certainly our superiors in the minutiæ of trade: some advantages, however, were derived from this misapplied severity; the mechanical arts were forced, as it were, into English hands, by the restrictions laid on foreign handicraftsmen, which were not confined to this one act; for another act was passed in the same year, upon the petition of the manufacturers of London and other towns, by which it was enacted, that "no merchant-stranger shall import into this realm, for sale, any manner of girdles, nor harneys for girdles, points, leather laces, purses, pouches, pins, gloves, knives, hangers, taylors' shears, scissors, andirons, cupboards, tongs, fire-forks, gridirons, stock-locks, keys, hinges, and garnets, spurs, painted glasses, painted papers, painted forcers, painted images, painted cloths, beaten gold and beaten silver wrought in papers for painters, saddles,

dles, saddle-trees, horse harneys, boots, bits, stirrups, buckler-chains, latten-nails with iron shanks, turners, hanging-candlesticks, holy-water stops, chaffing-dishes, hanging-leavers, curtain-rings, wool-cards, roan-cards, buckles for shoes, shears, broaches for spits, bells, hawks' bells, tin and leaden spoons, wire of latten and iron, iron-candlesticks, grates and horns for lanthorns, or any other thing made by the petitioners, on pain of forfeiture."

From the above list, and from the statute noticed before it, the curious inquirer will be enabled to form a comparison between this period and the present times, in respect of commerce and manufactures.

During the course of the year Richard was informed that the Earl of Richmond and the English exiles were meditating another attempt against his government. This information put Richard upon renewing his negotiations with the Duke of Brittanny, at whose court Richmond resided, for the delivery of the earl into his hands, in which he would have been successful, had not Richmond been apprized of this intention in time to escape it.

But not trusting wholly to his foreign negotiations, Richard made every possible preparation for giving his enemies a warm reception, if they landed. Among other precautions the Tower of London was ordered to be repaired; and, with a view to expedite the execution of it, a commission was given to the surveyor of the king's works to press all necessary workmen into his service.

At length, on the 7th of August, 1485, Richmond landed at Milford-haven, with an army not exceeding three thousand men; these were increased by nearly as many more, who joined him shortly after his arrival.

On receiving intelligence of his march, Richard, who was at the head of fifteen thousand men, resolved to interrupt it. The two armies met at Bosworth, in Leicestershire, on the 22d of August: a desperate conflict ensued, which terminated in the death of Richard, and the total defeat of his army.

CHAP. XXIV.

Henry VII. proclaimed King by his Army.—Early Act of Injustice.—The King's Entry into London.—Sweating Sickness.—Loan of 3000 *Marks.—Coronation.—Institution of the Yeomen of the Guard.—The King's Marriage with Elizabeth.—Cheapside Cross repaired.—Act of Common Council relative to Apprentices.—Commercial Treaties.—Act of Common Council to prohibit Citizens from trading at Fairs out of the City.—Court of Star-chamber.—Insurrection in favour of Lambert Simnel.—Coronation of the Queen.—Six thousand Pounds advanced by the City.—Slaughtering of Cattle prohibited.——The Lord Mayor's Jurisdiction on the Thames confirmed.—Maps and Sea Charts introduced.—Benevolence.—Rebellion under Perkin Warbeck.—His Execution, with that of the Earl of Warwick.—Early Use of Beer.—The Flemish Merchants banished.—The Steel-yard broke open and plundered.—Royal Entertainment.—Execution of Sir William Stanley.—Price of Provisions.—Act of Parliament to regulate the appointment of Jurors.—Commercial Treaty with the Netherlands.—Contest between two Companies of Merchant-Adventurers.—First English Voyage of Discovery.—Cornish Insurrection.—Artillery Ground.—Dreadful Pestilence.—Entry of Catharine of Spain.—Henry VII.'s Chapel built.—Death of the Queen.—Fleet Ditch made navigable.—Company of Merchant Taylors incorporated.—The City obliged to purchase a Charter of confirmation.—The Company of Merchant-Adventurers obliged to do the same.—Iniquitous Mode of raising Money by the execution of obsolete Penal Laws.—Religious Endowments.—St. Paul's School founded.—Death of Henry VII.—Singularities in his Will.—His Magnificent Funeral.*

THE victory at Bosworth was decisive. Henry was proclaimed king, by his own army, on the field of battle; an ornamental crown, which Richard had worn, was placed upon his head, and from that moment he assumed the name, state, and authority of king of England. The first act of his government was equally unjust and cruel: on the day after the battle, he sent Sir Robert Willoughby with a commission to the sheriff of York, to deliver the young Earl of Warwick to him, who was ordered to convey him to the Tower of London, where he was kept a prisoner till his death, without being charged with, or suspected of, a crime.

Having refreshed his troops at Leicester, Henry conducted them towards the capital, and was every where received with the loudest acclamations. When the victorious prince and army approached London, which he entered August 28, the citizens went out in crowds to meet and welcome their new monarch: he was met at Hornsey Park, now Highgate, by the lord mayor and aldermen, in scarlet robes, with a great number of citizens on horseback, in violet-coloured gowns; and at Shoreditch he was received by the several corporations of the city in their formalities. But on this occasion Henry discovered his reserved and haughty disposition, by entering the city in a close litter, and depriving the people of the satisfaction of seeing his person, which gave a check to their joy. He proceeded directly to St. Paul's, where he deposited the standards taken at Bosworth, and returned thanks to God for his victory. He then took up his residence in the Episcopal Palace, where, on the following day, he assembled a council of all the nobility and gentry then in London, and solemnly renewed the oath he had taken before the battle of Bosworth, to marry the Princess Elizabeth.

Soon after this an epidemical distemper, of a very singular nature, appeared in London, which, from its symptoms, was called the sweating sickness. This disease threw the patients into a violent perspiration,

ration, and carried them off in twenty-four hours; but those who survived that time, generally recovered. It continued a month before a method of cure was discovered, and in that time destroyed many thousands of people; among whom were two lord-mayors, six aldermen, and three sheriffs.

His majesty's want of money soon furnished him with an opportunity to try the affections of the Londoners. He had left the Marquis of Dorset and Sir John Bouchier at Paris, sureties for money which he had borrowed of the King of France towards his late expedition into England. To release these, his majesty requested a loan of six thousand marks from the city of London. The people did not rightly relish this requisition: but, at last, it was agreed to advance the king three thousand marks, and he established his credit with them by punctually returning the money at the appointed time.

The necessary preparations having been made for Henry's coronation, it was performed on the 30th day of October, 1485, by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The ceremony of his coronation was attended with a pomp till then unknown in England; namely, a body guard, consisting of fifty archers, called yeomen, under the command of a captain, to be in continual attendance upon the king's person.

It has been already said that Henry was under an engagement to marry Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. but his invincible hatred to the family of York, and all their adherents, had caused him to postpone the execution of it, until, at length, finding this delay occasioned many jealousies and discontents, his policy got the better of his inclination, and on the 18th of January, 1486, the marriage was celebrated. The rejoicings on this occasion, in London and Westminster, were far superior to those at the king's accession and coronation, which convinced Henry that the house of York was still the favourite of the people.

This year the cross at the west end of Cheapside (then called the West-Cheap), was completely repaired, and most curiously embellished at the expense of several of the principal citizens, among whom, John Fisher, a mercer, contributed the sum of six hundred marks.

Among other regulations at this time, an act of common-council was passed to prevent improper persons obtaining the freedom of the city; the import of which was, that no apprentice should be taken, nor freedom be given, except to such as were gentlemen born; agreeable to that clause of the freeman's oath, which says, " Ye shall take none apprentice, but if he be free-born, that is to say, no bond-man's son, nor the child of any alien."

According to the Chronicon Preciosum, wheat sold, this year, for one pound four shillings per quarter.

This year is remarkable for the number of commercial treaties concluded with foreign powers. It may be observed, that Henry's accession to the throne was of advantage to the commerce of the country; for, having a sound and good understanding, improved by the observations he had made in foreign countries, he was fully convinced of its great importance both to the crown and to the people, by increasing the revenues of the one, and the riches of the other. Accordingly we find that Henry was no sooner seated on the throne, than he began to turn his thoughts to trade, to remove the obstructions by which it had been interrupted, and to procure the English merchants and mariners a free course to, and favourable reception in, all parts of the world. With this view he cultivated peace with all his neighbours, and concluded commercial treaties with almost all the princes and states of Europe.

But the expanded views of the monarch were not yet truly estimated by his people. Thus we find, that, in the beginning of 1487, an act of common-council was passed, by which it was ordained that no citizen should carry goods or merchandize to any fair or market within the kingdom, for the term of seven years, under the penalty of one hundred pounds. This act, however, was so unreasonable in itself, and gave such offence to the legislature, that it was repealed in the following year, by an act of parliament which empowered the citizens to carry on their commerce as usual; and a penalty of forty pounds was laid upon every person who should presume to molest any of the citizens in their said trade.

The many commotions in different parts of the kingdom during the year 1487, gave occasion to the erection of the court of Star-chamber; but none of them were of such magnitude as that of which Lambert Simnel was the agent.

This transaction, many parts of which are involved in an impenetrable mystery, was founded upon a report of young Warwick's escape from the Tower. Simnel, the natural son of a baker of Oxford, who was entrusted to the care of one Robert Simon, a priest there, was instructed to personate the Earl of Warwick, in Ireland, where his father, the Duke of Clarence had been much respected. This scheme took immediate effect, for the people crowded under his standard with such rapidity, that he soon found himself at the head of a very considerable army; and, being joined by the Earl of Lincoln, and a body of two thousand Germans sent over by the Dutches of Burgundy, sister to Edward IV. he immediately embarked for England.

Henry, being informed that the rebels had advanced into Lincolnshire, assembled a considerable army, and marched to attack them: the two armies meeting at a place called Stoke, near Newark, a desperate battle ensued, which was maintained with equal valour on both sides for three hours, when victory declared in favour of Henry; and the rebels were at length totally defeated. The Germans were all slain on the very spot they occupied; a dreadful slaughter was made of the Irish, of whom four thousand, with their commander Fitz-Gerald, a brother to the Earl of Kildare, were killed; and Lambert Simnel and his tutor were taken prisoners.

The next day his majesty, with the queen, returned to London; and, on their arrival at Hornsey-park, were met by the mayor, aldermen, and principal citizens, mounted on fine horses, and richly dressed in an elegant uniform. In this manner they entered the city, the streets of which were covered with new gravel on the occasion: and passing through the several livery-companies, dressed in their formalities, their majesties went to St. Paul's cathedral, where Te Deum was solemnly sung on occasion of the late victory; after which they were conducted in great state to Westminster.

Lambert Simnel and his tutor were brought to London; and the latter, being committed close prisoner to the Tower, was never heard of after. The former received his majesty's pardon, and was employed in the servile office of scullion in the king's kitchen; in which capacity he acquitted himself so well, that he was afterwards raised to be one of the king's falconers.

However unfeasible this commotion was while Henry was able to produce the real Earl of Warwick, which he did twice on its breaking out, viz. once when he was carried in procession through the streets of London, and once at St. Paul's cathedral, on both which occasions, persons of every rank had opportunities of conversing with him, it nevertheless convinced the king that he did not possess the affections of the people so fully as he wished; and their dissatisfaction was greatly fomented by the Yorkists, who perceived themselves slighted on every occasion, and were not a little disgusted at his contemptuous treatment of the queen, in delaying her coronation, an honour never before refused to a queen consort. To remove this cause of complaint, Henry's inclinations were again sacrificed, and the ceremony was performed on the 25th of November, 1487.

The king, with the consent of parliament, having determined on assisting his ally the Duke of Brittany against the French king, applied to the city for a loan of four thousand pounds, and so highly was his majesty esteemed by the citizens at this time that they cheerfully advanced six thousand pounds.

The inhabitants of St. Gregory and St. Faith having made complaint of the horrid stench arising from the blood and ordure running through the said parishes from St. Nicholas's shambles (now Newgate-market), together with the noxious vapours arising from the scalding of swine; the parliament, to remedy such grievances for the future, passed an act, in which it was ordained, that no butcher should presume to kill any beast within the walls of London, upon the penalty of one shilling for every ox and cow so killed, and eight pence for every other beast.

In the same session, the jurisdiction of the mayor of London and his successors, in and over all the issues, breaches, and grounds overflowed, as far as the water ebbeth and floweth from the river

Thames, touching punishments to be inflicted on persons using unlawful nets, was confirmed.

About this time geographical or cosmographical maps and sea-charts were first brought into England, by Bartholomew Columbus, brother of Christopher, the discoverer of America. Bartholomew, having been sent by his brother to England to obtain support of Henry in the project for discovering the western world, had been made prisoner and detained a considerable time by pirates before he reached England; and when he arrived there, was kept in a long and tedious suspense by the over-cautious king: in the mean time he lived in London, in a poor way, by making and selling of sea-charts, which, till then, were entirely unknown there; and, in 1489, he printed a map of the world, which he dedicated to King Henry VII. It is supposed that his proposals were at last agreed to, but on his return the discovery was already made.

In the beginning of the year 1492, Henry had recourse to that most oppressive and illegal method of raising money known at that time by the name of a benevolence. On this occasion it was levied by assessors appointed in every county, and furnished with very artful instructions; among others, if the party applied to lived frugally, they were told their parsimony must undoubtedly have made them wealthy; if they lived generously, they were assessed accordingly as persons of opulence. The aldermen of this city were assessed at two hundred pounds each, and the sum total collected among the commonalty amounted to nine thousand six hundred and eighty-two pounds seventeen shillings and four pence; which, together with that paid by the aldermen, came to near fifteen thousand pounds. A very great sum, considering that there were hardly any, or at most but very few, of the citizens that were then possessed of a real estate of ten shillings per annum. The parliament, which met on the 26th of January, gave a sanction to this measure by commanding the arrears of it to be levied.

The pretence made use of to give a colour to this exaction was a war with France, which Henry never meant seriously to prosecute; there being every reason to suppose that the conditions of the peace had been previously settled, by which he was to receive seven hundred and forty-five thousand gold crowns, as expenses which he had incurred on account of Brittany, and arrears of a pension granted to Edward IV. Such was the crooked policy of this prince in amassing treasures, which he did not need, and had not the heart to use, by the pillage of his subjects.

The people smarted under the operation of this tax, for which nothing had been done, and were, at the same time, disgusted with the loss of Brittany, and other unpopular occurrences, when a pretender to the crown appeared, who is well known in history by the name of Perkin Warbeck, but who called himself Richard, Duke of York, youngest son of Edward IV. and who was supposed to have been murdered in the Tower.

It is not within the scope of this history to enter into the controverted question of the identity of this youth. Those who wish for an ample statement of the facts will find it, accompanied by many acute and ingenious observations, in Dr. Henry's History of England, vol. VI. It is sufficient for our purpose to observe, that after various turns of fortune, he was at length induced to surrender himself to Henry, who committed him to the Tower, from whence it was said he attempted, in conjunction with the Earl of Warwick, to effect his escape. He was tried for this offence, and, being convicted, was hanged at Tyburn, on the 23d of November, 1499; and the Earl of Warwick being also tried and condemned by his peers, was beheaded on Tower-hill, on the 28th day of the same month. "Thus," says Dr. Henry, "fell, by the hands of the executioner, the last of the male line of the Plantagenets, who had reigned in England three hundred and thirty-one years, from the accession of Henry II. A. D. 1154, to the accession of Henry VII. A. D. 1485. It would be difficult to find, in history, a more ill-fated prince than Edward Earl of Warwick: without any crime but his high birth, he was confined in prison from his childhood; denied all means of information, and all intercourse with man; and finished his wretched life by a violent death!"

But to return: We have an irrefragable proof that a beverage, bearing the name of beer, was in use in London at this period, although hops were not known so early. In the Fœdera,* under the year 1492, is a licence to a Fleming to export fifty tons of it, *(quinquaginta dolia servitiæ vocatæ bere);* and there is an equally authentic proof, in the same year†, viz. that one of the king's attendants into France was Petrus Vanek, a beer-brewer of Greenwich, in Kent.

Henry having, from some political cause, conceived an insuperable aversion to the Flemish nation, banished all the merchants of that country from the city of London, and prohibited all intercourse with that people. The Anseatic merchants, availing themselves of this circumstance, in 1493, imported large quantities of merchandize from Flanders; and the English merchant-adventurers became great sufferers by being deprived of the principal part of their commerce with the Flemish merchants.

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* Vol. XII. p. 471.

† Ibid. p. 485.

These circumstances so highly incensed the Flemings, that they entered into a conspiracy against the Anseatic merchants; and, being joined by the populace, they broke open and plundered their warehouses at the Steel-yard, situated near Thames-street; but, assistance being procured from Southwark, and the lord mayor bringing a body of armed men to protect them, the rioters were dispersed. Several of the principal conspirators being taken, were committed to the Tower; and after a long imprisonment, some were executed and others discharged.

On Twelfth-day, in the year 1494, his majesty gave an elegant entertainment to the magistrates and principal citizens of London, at Westminster. After dinner, he knighted Ralph Austrey, the mayor; and in the evening several kinds of diversion were exhibited in Westminster-hall, which was richly hung with tapestry, and staged on both sides. After the sports, the king, queen, and principal nobility, being seated at a stone table, a number of knights, with their esquires, served sixty dishes to the king's mess, as many to the queen's, and twenty-four to the lord mayor's, with plenty of the choicest wines. At break of day their majesties retired, and the citizens returned home highly pleased with the entertainment they had received, and the honour conferred on them by his majesty.

The ingratitude and avarice of Henry were strongly manifested in the execution of Sir William Stanley, who was beheaded on Tower-hill, on the 16th of February, in this year. The crime with which he was charged was having said that "if he were sure that young man (meaning Warbeck), were King Edward's son, he would never bear arms against him." Though Stanley was condemned, it was not believed, either by himself or others, that the sentence would be executed. It is hardly possible for one man to be under greater obligations to another, than Henry was to Sir William Stanley, and his brother Lord Stanley, who was married to the king's mother. They saved his life, gained him the victory, and placed a crown on his head, at Bosworth. But the hard and covetous heart of Henry was inflexible to such influence. The punishment of Stanley would convince all his subjects that they could expect no mercy, if they favoured the pretender, and the confiscation of his great estates would fill his coffers. These considerations prevailed, and Stanley was sacrificed by an unrelenting master.

In this year, Fabian, the London Chronicler, served the office of sheriff.

The great plenty of corn in this year, lowered the price of wheat to four shillings per quarter. At the same time, white herrings were sold for three shillings and fourpence, the barrel, and claret for thirty shillings a hogshead.

The crime of perjury prevailing greatly at this period among the London juries, the parliament passed an act for preventing improper persons from being impannelled in future, by which it was enacted,

"That, for the future, no person or persons be impannelled, or sworn into any jury or inquest in any of the city courts, unless he be worth forty marks; and if the cause to be tried amount to that sum, then no person to be admitted a juror worth less than one hundred marks: and that every person, so qualified, refusing to serve as a juryman, for the first default to forfeit one shilling; the second, two shillings; and every one after, to double the sum. That when upon trial it shall be found, that a petty jury have brought in an unjust verdict, then every member of the same to forfeit twenty pounds, or more, according to the discretion of the court of lord mayor and aldermen, and to suffer six months imprisonment, or less, at the discretion of the said mayor and aldermen, without bail or mainprize, and for ever after to be rendered incapable of serving in any jury. And further, if upon inquiry it should be found, that any juror has taken money as a bribe, or other reward, or promise of reward, to favour either plaintiff or defendant in the cause to be tried by him, that then, and in every such case, the person so offending to forfeit and pay to the party by him thus injured, ten times the value of such sum or reward by him taken, and also to suffer imprisonment, as already mentioned; and besides, to be disabled for ever from serving in that capacity: and that every person or persons guilty of bribing any juror, shall likewise forfeit ten times the value given, and suffer imprisonment as aforesaid."

After many mutual complaints and differences, and a long suspension of commerce between England and the Netherlands, a new and solemn treaty of peace, commerce, and alliance was concluded at London in February, 1496, and among the conservators of the peace, on the part of King Henry, the lord mayor and aldermen of London were named.

On this occasion a violent contest broke out between the merchants residing in the capital, who had long been incorporated under different names, and now called themselves, The Company of Merchant Adventurers of London, and the merchants who resided in other cities and towns, who called themselves, The Merchant Adventurers of England. The London company had been long accustomed to impose a kind of tax or composition on the English merchants residing in other places, for liberty to buy and sell in the great fairs of Flanders, Brabant, and other countries on the continent. This tax was at first only half an old noble, (3s. 4d.) and was demanded by the London merchants, who then called themselves The Fraternity of St. Thomas Becket, on a religious pretence, to enable them to do honour to their favourite saint, and thereby to gain his protection. But by degrees this imposition was raised so much, that it now amounted to twenty pounds, to the great discouragement of trade. The merchant adventurers, therefore, who resided in the out-ports, applied to parliament for a redress of this grievance, and an act was passed in the next session, reducing the fine to ten marks sterling.

We come now to the first attempt made by England towards the discovery of unknown coasts, and new countries. Henry VII. perceiving his error, in not listening in time to the proposal of Columbus, thought to retrieve it by a grant of letters patent, dated March 5, 1496, to John Cabot and his three sons, to navigate all parts of the eastern, western, and northern seas, with five ships, for the discovery of unknown countries, which had never been visited by Christians. They set out, says Lord St. Albans, in one Bristol ship, and three from London, laden with gross and slight wares, and went as far as the north side of Terra di Labrador, in sixty-seven one-half degrees of latitude. Hakluyt says, he discovered the island of Newfoundland, and soon after the island of St. John. He then sailed down to Cape Florida, and returned to Bristol with a good cargo, and three natives of the countries he had discovered on board. He was graciously received and knighted by Henry on his return. Thus it appears that the English were the first discoverers of the continent of America.

The king having disgusted his people by heavy taxes, the Cornish men, spirited up and headed by Lord Audley, rose, and marched under his lordship's command, towards London, in hopes to reduce it.

The rebels encamped on Blackheath, on the 17th of June, 1497, and at first threw the city into great disorder and confusion. But the mayor and sheriffs soon prevailed with their fellow citizens to arm and defend themselves: and by erecting batteries, and guarding proper places, they presently found themselves in a condition to defeat the attempts of the enemy. In the mean time, the king with an army of regulars encamping in St. George's Fields, covered the borough of Southwark and London-bridge from all danger. From which his majesty marched, on the 22d of June, to Blackheath, and entirely routed the rebel army.

A parcel of grounds, consisting of gardens, orchards, &c. situate on the north side of Chiswell-street, and called by the name of Bunhill-fields, was, in the year 1498, converted into a spacious field, for the use of the London archers, which is now known by the name of the Artillery Ground.

In the year 1500, a dreadful plague raged in many parts of the kingdom, particularly in London, where, according to Fabian, it carried off upwards of twenty thousand persons. To avoid this destructive pestilence, the king, with his queen and court, removed to different places, and at last sailed to Calais, where he arrived May 8th, and had an interview with Philip Archduke of Austria, near that place. At this interview these two princes treated one another with the highest marks of respect, the warmest expressions of friendship, and the strongest assurances of the faithful observance of the commercial treaty which had been lately concluded. The archduke flattered the king agreeably, by calling him his father and protector. In a word, Henry was so well pleased, that he sent a circumstantial account of what had passed to the mayor and aldermen of London, which occasioned great rejoicings in the city. The pestilence being abated, the royal family returned in June.

On the 4th of October, 1501, Catherine of Arragon, infanta of Spain, landed at Plymouth, and made her public entry into London on the 12th of November. The mayor and aldermen received her in their formalities: the streets were richly adorned with silks, velvets, &c. and a variety of stately pageants: and on the 14th of the same month her highness was married to Arthur Prince of Wales, in St. Paul's cathedral, in the presence of the lord mayor, in a robe of crimson velvet; and of the aldermen, in scarlet gowns: who, after the solemnization of the royal nuptials, were sumptuously entertained in the great hall of the Bishop of London's palace, where the new married couple continued, till the king and queen, two days after, went from Baynard's Castle to hear mass at St. Paul's, and from thence to dine with the princess at the bishop's palace, and after dinner took her by water to Westminster, escorted by the lord mayor, aldermen, and city companies in their respective barges, beautifully ornamented with flags, &c.

King Henry, in the year 1502, caused the chapel of the Virgin Mary, and a tavern adjoining, at the east end of Westminter Abbey, to be taken down; on the site whereof he erected the present beautiful and magnificent chapel, which bears his name; the expense of which amounted to fourteen thousand pounds.

Queen Elizabeth, consort of Henry, died this year in child-bed, in the Tower of London.

Fleet dyke, or ditch, was about this time cleansed out from Holborn to the Thames, so that it was made navigable by large boats laden with fuel and fish, as far as Holborn Bridge. Houndsditch, under the eastern wall of the city, so called from its being customary to throw dead dogs and other carrion into it, was arched over and paved.

Few princes have been better acquainted with the arts of getting money than Henry VII. His insatiable avarice converted every thing to profit. Hence the number of charters and other grants, or confirmations of privileges by him. In 1503, the company of taylors and linen-armourers obtained a new charter, by which they were re-incorporated under the name of merchant-taylors; and, though Henry was a member of this company, they were compelled to purchase this favour.

In 1505 the citizens were obliged to pay five thousand marks under pretence of a charter of confirmation of their rights and liberties. The principal objects of this charter were to restrain the encroachments of foreign merchants on the franchises of the citizens, and to regulate the qualifications of brokers. Its form was nearly similar to that of the 50 Edw. III. and of 1 Rich. II. confirmed by parliament; it is therefore omitted.

The king also obliged the company of merchant-adventurers, notwithstanding they were legally recognized by parliament in the act relating to their freedom fines, to have a new charter of confirmation of their privileges, and they are here called, for the first time, by the name of "The Fellowship of Merchant-adventurers of England." At the same time, the Steel-yard merchants were prohibited from carrying English cloths to the place of residence of the merchant-adventurers in the Low Countries, and the aldermen of the Steel-yard were compelled to enter into a recognizance of two thousand marks for the observance of this restriction.

But of all his artifices to accumulate riches, none were more iniquitous than those founded upon the rigorous execution of obsolete and forgotten penal laws. With this view he employed expert lawyers, who searched into these laws, and innumerable spies, in all parts of the kingdom, to discover those who had transgressed them: and when laws were not to be found to answer these purposes, they were made with a specious semblance of being for the public good, but in reality to increase the revenues of the crown. Sir Richard Empson and Edmond Dudley, two bold and unfeeling lawyers, were the chief instruments employed by Henry in these nefarious transactions. Many, against whom accusations could not be supported, were thrown into prison, where they were detained without trial, until they were brought to offer large compositions for their deliverance; and, such as persisted obstinately in refusing to compound, were at length brought to trial before commissioners appointed by the king, who dispensed with juries and witnesses, and condemned in a summary way. Instances of this description are to be found in Sir William Capel, lord mayor of London, who was fined two thousand seven hundred pounds, and after a long struggle, and remaining several years in prison, was forced to compound for sixteen hundred pounds. Thomas Knesworth, mayor of London, and his two sheriffs, suffered a long imprisonment, and at length obtained their deliverance by the payment of one thousand four hundred pounds. Christopher Hawis, mercer and alderman of London, was so harassed by these inquisitors, that he died of a broken heart. Sir Lawrence Alemore and his two sheriffs were fined a thousand pounds, and committed to prison, but obtained their deliverance by the king's death.

The king, having amassed prodigious wealth by such oppressions, endeavoured to remove the odium of the means employed to acquire it, by ostentatious acts of benevolence. Accordingly, we find that he endowed several religious foundations, and gave considerable alms to the poor; and, in 1507, discharged all the prisoners, in London, whose debts did not exceed forty shillings.

About this time Dr. John Collet, Dean of St. Paul's, founded a school to be called St. Paul's school, at the east end of St. Paul's church-yard, for a master, an usher, a chaplain, and one hundred and fifty-three scholars.

Henry had for some time laboured under a disorder of the lungs, which had baffled all the art of medicine to preserve a life, that he was at the same time the most unwilling, and the least prepared of any man, to part with. He died on the 22d of April, 1509, at his favourite palace of Richmond, leaving one million eight hundred thousand pounds sterling, in money, jewels, and plate, locked up in the vaults of his palace.

The will of this king, dated March 31, 1509, is one among the many instances of the effects of avarice on the human mind. It was evidently made under the dread of future retribution, from the immense number of masses he ordered to be said for his soul; but even in this awful state of anxiety, the value of a cheap bargain was not forgotten: he took especial care that they should be had for *six pence* each. And while he directed restitution to all whom he had oppressed, he gave strict orders that none should be made to any for what had been taken from them *by course of law*, though that was the most common method of his oppressive exactions. Yet he was thought a great and good man by some of his contemporaries.

His funeral was conducted with the utmost magnificence. His body was brought from Richmond to the painted chamber at Westminster, where, resting three days, a solemn mass and dirge were sung by a mitered bishop: whence being removed into the hall, the same service was performed there, the like space of time; as also in the chapel three days longer; and at every place was a hearse, adorned with banners, escutcheons, and pennons, with mourners attending. From thence, on Wednesday, the 9th of May, it was put into a chariot, covered with cloth, black and gold, drawn by five beautiful horses, covered with black velvet, ornamented with escutcheons of fine gold; with his effigy, apparelled in rich robes, the crown on his head, and sceptre and ball in his hands, laid on a cushion of gold, and environed with banners of the arms of all his dominions, titles, and genealogies; a great number of prelates praying, with his servants, and others, in black, before the body; and nine mourners, with about six hundred torches following. In this order it was attended to St. George's Fields, near Southwark, and there met by the religious of the several orders in or about the city, with the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council, in black. It was then brought through the city to St. Paul's, and placed in the choir, in a stately hearse of wax; whence, after a solemn mass, and a sermon preached by the Bishop of Rochester, it was the next day, with the same state, conveyed to Westminster, Sir Edward Hayward, with the king's coat of arms, bearing his banner, on a horse trapped with the arms of the defunct; and there, by six lords, taken out of the chariot and set under a most curious hearse, full of lights, the effigy lying on the coffin, on a pall of gold; about which the mourners being sat within the first rail, knights, bearing banners, within the second, and officers of arms without the same, Garter, king of arms, cried aloud "*For the soul of the noble Prince Henry VII. king of this realm;*" when the choir beginning with *Placebo*, and ending with *Dirige*, closed the solemnities of that day. The next day three masses were solemnly sung by bishops, at the last of which were offered the banner, horse, coat of arms, sword, target, and helmet; the nobility likewise offering their rich palls of cloth of gold. When the choir had sung *Libera me*, the corpse was interred, in the chapel built by the deceased in Westminster-abbey, the treasurer and comptroller breaking their staves into the grave: when Garter having called with a loud voice, "*Vive le roy Henrie le huitiesme, roy d'Angleterre & de France, syere d'Ireland*," the mourners, with those of the household, departed to the palace, where they were sumptuously entertained.

CHAP. XXV.

Prosecution of Empson and Dudley.—Henry VIII's marriage with Catherine of Spain.—Their Coronation.—Punishment of Informers.—Empson and Dudley beheaded.—Grand Cavalcade of the City Watch.—An Alderman disfranchised for refusing to serve the Office of Sheriff.—The City Granary supplied.—Fire in the Tower.—Act relative to Jurors.—Physicians and Surgeons regulated.—Adulteration of Oils.—Commencement of the Royal Navy.—The Trinity House founded.—Masquerades.—The Clergy subjected to civil Punishments.—Case of Richard Hunne.—The Entrance of the Thames fortified.--Riot.--May-games.—Evil May-day.—Establishment of the Court of Requests.—Commercial Treaty.—Sweating Sickness.—Sessions of the Peace removed from St. Martin-le-Grand.—The Physicians incorporated.—Expense of cleansing the City-ditch.—Epidemic Disorder and Scarcity of Grain.—Execution of the Duke of Buckingham.—Reception of Two foreign Monarchs.—War with France.—Loan.—Opposition to levying a Benevolence.—House-rents.—Soap.—Act relative to Foreigners.—Suburbs.—Credulity of the Londoners.—Further opposition to a Benevolence.—Plague.—Wolsey's Embassy to France.—Public Entry of the French Ambassadors.—Scarcity of Corn.—Act of Common-council relative to Apprentices.—Sweating Sickness.—Merchants ordered to purchase Cloths.—Proceedings relative to Henry's Divorce.—Fall of Cardinal Wolsey.—Valuation of his Goods.

HENRY VIII. the surviving son of the late king, succeeded his father, and was proclaimed king, with the usual solemnities, on the 23d day of April, 1509.

His first acts were very popular; among these none gave greater satisfaction than the prosecution of Empson and Dudley, the late king's commissioners for raising money upon antiquated penal laws: they were both committed to the Tower, as were many of their agents to other prisons, and a proclamation was issued, inviting all who had complaints against them to lay them before commissioners appointed to hear and redress their wrongs.

One of the first and most important affairs that engaged the attention of the king and his council, was his marriage with his deceased brother Arthur's widow. A dispensation had been obtained from the pope, but Henry had protested against the contract, and it now became a question whether he should adhere to his protest or not. A great majority of the council advised the king to proceed with the marriage, and Henry complied, though with reluctance. This extraordinary marriage was solemnized at Greenwich on the 7th of June; and the coronation, for which great preparations had been made, and an immense expense incurred, both by the king and the nobility, was performed at Westminster, on the 24th, with extraordinary pomp.* The royal pair rode from the Tower to Westminster through the city, the streets of which were magnificently adorned with silks and tapestry; and part of Cornhill and Goldsmith's Row, on the south side of Cheapside, were hung with gold brocades. The magistrates and the different companies attended the procession in their formalities, and the people testified their joy with loud and reiterated acclamations.

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* The habits of Henry VIII. and his queen on this occasion are thus described by Hall, an historian delighting in shows and spectacles. "His grace wared in his upperst apparell a robe of crimsyn velvet, furred with armyns; his jacket or cote of raised gold; the placard embrodered with diamonds, rubies, emeraudes, great pearles, and other rich stones; a greate bauderike about his necke, of large balasses. The quene was appareled in white satyn embrodered, her hair hanging downe to her backe, of a very great length, bewtefull and goodly to behold; and on her hedde a coronall, set with many riche orient stones.

The commissioners, who had been appointed to enquire into the oppressions and redress the injuries of the former reign, found it less expensive to gratify the revenge of the complainants than to repair their losses. They, therefore, made three of the most active and odious of the informers to ride through the streets of London, with papers on their heads, and their faces to the horses tails; after which they were set on the pillory on Cornhill, where they were used so roughly that they all died soon after in prison.

But though the inferior agents were thus disposed of, the two grand oppressors still remained; and, it being found impossible to convict them without bringing a load of infamy on the memory of the late king, by whose authority they had acted, it was resolved to bring them to trial for high-treason, on which charge they were found guilty, and, after a long confinement, were both attainted by act of parliament, and beheaded on Tower-hill.

In the year 1510, Henry, disguised in the habit of a yeoman of the guard, went into the city on the eve of St. John to see the grand cavalcade of the city watch. He was so highly pleased with the sight, that he returned on St. Peter's eve, with his royal consort, attended by the principal nobility, and stood in Cheapside, where they saw the stately march. This ceremony was performed twice every year, viz. on the eve of St. John Baptist, and the eve of St. Peter and Paul. The manner of conducting this nocturnal parade was as follows: the city music followed by the lord mayor's officers in party-coloured liveries; the sword-bearer on horseback, in beautiful armour, before the lord mayor, mounted on a stately horse richly decorated, attended by a giant and two pages, on horseback, three pageants, morice-dancers and footmen: after these came the sheriffs, followed by their officers in proper liveries, and attended by their giants, pages, &c. then a considerable body of demi-lancers in bright armour, on stately horses; these were followed by a great number of carabineers in fustian coats, with the city arms on their backs and breasts; then marched a division of archers, with their bows bent, and by their side shafts of arrows; after these a great number of halberdiers, preceded by a party of pikemen, croslets and helmets; and the rear was brought up by a party of billmen with aprons and helmets of mail. The whole body consisted of about two thousand men in different divisions, in each of which were properly fixed musicians, drums, standards, and ensigns. The march began at the conduit, the west end of Cheapside, and passed through Cheapside, the Poultry, Cornhill, and Leadenhall-street, to Aldgate; from whence it returned through Fenchurch-street, Gracechurch-street, Cornhill, and so back to the conduit again. The procession was illuminated by nine hundred and forty large lanterns, fixed at the ends of poles, and carried on mens' shoulders; two hundred of which were provided at the expense of the city; five hundred at that of the companies; and two hundred and forty by the city constables; exclusive of these, a great number of lamps were hung against the houses on each side the way, decorated with flowers and greens made into garlands. The whole formed a very pleasing sight, and gave the highest satisfaction to the royal pair.

Sir William Fitzwilliam, alderman of Bread-street ward, was this year disfranchised for refusing to serve the office of sheriff, and retired to Milton, in Northamptonshire. Notwithstanding this circumstance, he was in such esteem at court, that the king made him a knight of the garter, lord keeper of the privy seal, and chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, which places he enjoyed till his death.

In the year 1511, a scarcity of corn being apprehended, the lord mayor, Roger Achiley, caused Leadenhall (the city granary) to be plentifully stored with grain of all sorts. In the same year he likewise levelled Moorfields, which extended from London-wall to Hoxton, and caused bridges and causeways to be erected for the greater convenience of passengers.

A dreadful fire broke out in the Tower, in 1512, by which a great number of buildings were destroyed, together with the chapel in the White Tower.

By an act of parliament passed in this year, the sheriffs of London and Middlesex were empowered to empannel juries for the city courts, and each juror so empannelled to be a citizen worth one hundred marks; and who, for non-appearance on his first summons, was to forfeit one shilling and eight pence; for the second, three shillings and four pence; and for every default afterwards, double the sum.

It was also provided by the same parliament, that no one should practise physic or surgery within the city of London, or seven miles round, without being first examined and approved by the Bishop of London, or the Dean of St. Paul's (who were to be assisted by four doctors in physic, or by four persons expert in the faculty of surgery), under the penalty of forfeiting five pounds a month so long as such person should exercise either of these professions without being so admitted.

About the same period, the adulteration of oils of all descriptions was carried to such a pitch, that legislative interference was found necessary. Accordingly, an act was passed, in the same session, which, after reciting the evil, empowers the mayor of London, with the master and wardens of the tallow-chandlers' company, to examine all oils, and to punish misdoers and offenders according to the laws and customs of London.

From this year we may date the commencement of what may be called an English royal navy, that is, a number of ships of war, actually belonging to, and permanently established by the English crown for national defence, King Henry VIII. being the first English king who effectually pursued this plan, and for that end first formed a royal navy-office, with commissioners, &c. nearly as at present. The maritime guild, or fraternity called the Trinity-house of Deptford, was also instituted in this year, for the improvement of navigation, and similar fraternities were soon after established in other ports. This object was further promoted by erecting storehouses for all manner of naval stores, and making yards and docks at Woolwich and Deptford for building and equipping ships of war.

It is also to be remarked, that the year 1512 was the first year that the Italian form of masquerade was introduced into this nation: when King Henry, on Twelfth-day, at night, with eleven more, disguised with long flowing garments, wrought all in gold, and with masks and caps of gold tissue, preceded by six gentlemen also in masquerade, with silk garments, and torches in their hands, entered the ball-room after supper, and each took out a lady to dance; and thus continued the rest of the evening.

The parliament met again at the latter end of this year, and one of the first acts they passed subjected all the clergy, except bishops, priests, and deacons, to be tried by the civil courts, for robbery and murder; and, if found guilty, they were denied the benefit of clergy. This act, by which subdeacons, acolyths, exorcists, &c. were rendered liable to be tried and punished by laymen was loudly exclaimed against by the whole body of the clergy as a most impious invasion of the immunities of the church. The pulpits every where rung with declamations against it; and the Abbot of Winchelcomb, in a sermon at Paul's cross, declared, that all persons, whether spiritual or temporal, who had assented to that infamous act, had incurred the censures of the church; and he also published a book to prove, that the persons of clerks, of all ranks, were sacred, and could not be punished by the laity for any crimes. This attempt of the clergy to emancipate themselves from the restraints of law, and from punishment for such enormous crimes, exasperated the temporal lords and the commons, who petitioned the king to repress their insolence, and the matter in dispute was debated in his presence, but no decision was given upon it.

While things were in this state an event happened that inflamed the animosity between the clergy and the laity, especially in London. One Richard Hunne, a respectable citizen, was sued by the priest of his parish, in the legate's court, for a mortuary, which he claimed for the burial of a child five weeks old. Hunne, by the advice of his council, sued the priest, in the King's-bench, in a premunire, for bringing him before a foreign court. The clergy, to extricate the priest, accused Hunne of heresy, and imprisoned him in the Lollard's Tower, at St. Paul's, where he was found hanged, December 4th, 1514. The clergy gave out that he had hanged himself: but the coroner's inquest, after a careful examination of the body, the posture in which it was found, and other circumstances, brought in their verdict wilful murder, by those who had the charge of the prison. Many witnesses were examined, whose evidence tended to criminate the bishops, one Sumner, and the bell-ringer; and Sumner afterwards confessed that the chancellor Doctor Horsey, himself, and the bell-ringer, had first murdered Hunne, and then hung up his body against the wall.

This affair made a prodigious noise in London, and excited violent outcries against the clergy, which were rendered more vehement by the method that was taken to silence them. Fitz-James, Bishop of London, and other prelates with whom he consulted, imagined that, if Hunne was convicted of heresy, the people would no longer espouse his cause, or lament his fate. The bishop therefore held a court at St. Paul's, December 16th, for the trial of one who had been ten days in his grave. At that court Hunne was accused of various heresies, contained in the preface to Wickliff's Bible, which had been found in his house, and was esteemed a sufficient proof that he had held all these heresies. Proclamation was made, that if any one chose to answer for the accused he should appear immediately. No council chose to plead the cause of such a client in such a court. Hunne was pronounced a heretic; his body was taken up, December 20th, and burnt in Smithfield! The people were shocked at this horrid spectacle, and greatly disgusted with their spiritual guides.

The discontent excited by these acts of cruelty, was not confined to the people of London: a bill passed the commons for bringing the murderers of Hunne to justice, but was rejected by the lords through the powerful interest of the clergy in that house. The children of Hunne were, however, restored to all their father's effects; and, after a long series of conferences, disputes, and bickerings, the whole terminated in a compromise. The clergy consented to drop all proceedings against those who were opposed to them, and Dr. Horsey appeared in the King's-bench, and pleaded not guilty to the charge against him, which plea was acknowledged by the attorney-general; and, in those days, it was thought a great thing that a king should bring a clerk to the bar, though he durst not bring him to trial.

But to return: in 1513, Henry, considering the importance of protecting the Thames against the insults of foreign enemies, erected a platform of cannon at Gravesend, and another opposite to it on the Essex shore, where Tilbury-fort now stands.

In the year 1514, the land-holders about Islington, Hoxton, and Shoreditch, had inclosed their grounds so that the citizens were debarred from their accustomed exercises and sports in these fields, or if they pursued them were indicted as trespassers.

The populace, irritated at this treatment, and instigated by a fellow who ran about the streets, in a merry-andrew's coat, calling for spades and shovels, assembled in great numbers, and with these implements soon levelled the fences. On this the king sent commissioners into the city to inquire into the cause of this tumult, who, being met in the convent of the Grey Friars, summoned the lord mayor and aldermen before them to give an account of the matter, when they reprimanded these magistrates for not being more careful of the peace of the city, and strictly enjoined them to prevent such occurrences in future.

Fabian says, that, in 1515, the Thames was frozen so hard that carriages of all sorts passed between Westminster and Lambeth upon the ice.

It was an ancient custom, says Hall, in his chronicle, for the citizens of London to celebrate May-day, by diverting themselves in the neighbouring woods and meadows; and, continues this historian, this diversion was become so great a fashion, that it engaged the king and queen, this year, attended by their nobles, to ride a-maying, from Greenwich to the top of Shooter's-hill, on May-day, in the morning. In this excursion, their majesties were designedly met by two hundred yeomen, cloathed in green, with green hoods, and bows and arrows, under a captain named Robin Hood. Robin addressed the king to stop and see his men shoot, which they performed most dextrously at once, at his whistle; and their arrows were so contrived in the heads, that they also whistled when shot off, with a strange and loud noise, that greatly delighted his royal guests, whom Robin afterwards conducted to the green-wood, and entertained plentifully with wine and venison, under arbours made of boughs and decked with flowers.

A serious commotion broke out in London, in the year 1517. The rioters consisted of the apprentices, servants, watermen, and priests, and the foreigners were the objects of their illegal proceedings. The complaints against these men, as set forth in Hall's Life of Henry VIII. were "That there were such numbers of them employed as artificers that the English could get no work. That the English merchants had little to do, by reason the merchant-strangers bring in all silks, cloths of gold, wine, oil, iron, &c. that no man almost buyeth of an Englishman. They also export so much wool, tin, and lead, that English adventurers can have no living. That foreigners compass the city round about, in Southwark, Westminster, Temple-bar, Holborn, St. Martin's-le-Grand, St. John's-street, Aldgate, Tower-hill, and St. Catherine's; and they forestall the market, so that no good thing, for them, cometh to the market, which are the causes that Englishmen want and starve, whilst foreigners live in abundance and pleasure. That the Dutchmen bring over iron, timber, and leather, ready manufactured, and nails, locks, baskets, cupboards, stools, tables, chests, girdles, saddles, and painted cloths." These accusations throw some light on the commercial condition at this time.

Preparatory to this commotion, one John Lincoln, a broker, engaged Dr. Bele, who preached the Spital-sermon on Easter Tuesday, to inflame the people by magnifying the grievances under which they laboured. The doctor complied, and took these words for his text: "The heavens to the Lord of Heaven; but the earth is given to the children of men." From whence the doctor showed, that as this land was given to Englishmen, and as birds defend their nests, so ought Englishmen to cherish and maintain themselves, and to hunt and drive out aliens, for the good of the commonwealth. And from another text, "Fight for your country," that by the laws of God they were justified, and therefore it was their duty to clear the city of strangers. This sermon had such an effect on many weak minds, that they assaulted foreigners as they passed along the streets; for which offence, on the 28th of April, Stephen Studley, Stephen Betts, and some others, who were principals, were committed by the lord mayor to prison. Soon after which, a report was spread that the citizens intended, on May-day following, to destroy all strangers that should be found in the city, or its liberties.

The king's council hearing of this rumour, Cardinal Wolsey sent for the mayor, and advised him to be on his guard, and prevent the like disturbances for the future. To effect which he summoned the aldermen, about four o'clock in the afternoon preceding May-day, to meet him at Guildhall immediately. The assembly being met, they, with the approbation of the cardinal, came to the following resolution: That every man should be commanded to shut up his doors, and keep his servants within. In consequence of which, an order was made and published by the alderman of each respective ward, that no man, after nine o'clock, should stir out of his house, but keep his doors shut, and his servants within, till nine o'clock in the morning.

Before this order was properly dispersed, it unluckily happened that Sir John Mundy, in his way home, was rudely treated by two young men playing at bucklers in Cheap, one of whom he ordered to be sent to the Compter. Many 'prentices who were by, rescued the young man from the alderman, crying out, "'Prentices! 'Prentices! Clubs! Clubs!" on which so great a body assembled with clubs and other weapons, that the alderman was put to flight. These were increased by a number of serving men, watermen, and others; and, by eleven o'clock at night, there assembled in Cheap about seven hundred, and in St. Paul's church-yard three hundred. They proceeded in a body to the Compter, which they broke open, and released the rioters who had been committed there by the mayor for assaulting foreigners; after which they went to Newgate, and took out Studley and Betts, committed for the like offence. A proclamation was issued by the mayor and sheriffs, in the king's name, but without effect. The mob increasing, they threw sticks and stones at many strangers as they passed, particularly one Nicholas Dennis, a sergeant at arms, who, being much wounded, cried out, "Down with them." This heightening their resentment, they broke the windows and doors of the houses in St. Martin's-le-Grand, and plundered the house of one Mewtas, a Frenchman, in Leadenhall-street, whom they intended, had they met with him, to have destroyed.

Early in the morning they dispersed, from an apprehension of being overpowered by the forces preparing to march into the city, under the command of the Earls of Shrewsbury and Surrey. In this time, by the diligence of the mayor, three hundred of them were taken, and committed to the Tower, Newgate, and the Compters; and about five o'clock in the morning the riot subsided. Among those committed to the Tower was Dr. Bell, for preaching his seditious sermon. A commission of oyer and terminer was immediately made out for the trials of the offenders, on the 2d of May, at Guildhall. On their arraignment they pleaded Not Guilty, and their trials were postponed till the 4th of May. The commissioners appointed for this purpose were, the Lord Mayor, the Earl of Surrey, and the Duke of Norfolk, who came into the city escorted by thirteen hundred men; and the prisoners, to the amount of two hundred and seventy-eight, some men, some lads not exceeding fourteen years of age, were brought through the city tied with ropes. On the first day, John Lincolne and several others were indicted and found guilty; and the next day thirteen were condemned to be drawn, hanged, and quartered. For this purpose, and to strike a greater terror, ten pair of gallows were set up at the following places: Aldgate, Blanchapelton, Grass-street, Leadenhall, opposite each Compter, Newgate, St. Martin's, Aldersgate, and Bishopsgate. They were made to run on wheels, for the better convenience of removing them to such places as might be properly adapted for the execution of so many rioters. Some little time after sentence was passed, Lincolne, Sherwin, and the two brothers, named Betts, were drawn upon hurdles to the standard in Cheapside. The first was executed; but, as the others were near being turned off, a reprieve came from the king, to the universal joy of the populace, who unanimously cried out, "God save the king."

On the 11th of May, the lord mayor, aldermen, and recorder, dressed in mourning gowns, waited on the king, who then resided at Greenwich; and being admitted to the door of the privy-chamber, from whence his majesty came, attended by several of his nobles, the recorder, in the name of the rest, falling on his knees, addressed the king in the following words:

"Most natural, benign, and our sovereign lord! we well know that your grace is highly displeased with us of your city of London, for the great riot done and committed there; wherefore, we assure your grace, that none of us, nor no honest persons, were condescending to that enormity; yet we, our wives and children, every hour lament that your favour should be taken from us: and forasmuch as light and idle persons were the doers of the same, we most humbly beseech your grace to have mercy on us for our negligence, and compassion on the offenders for their offences and trespasses."

The king, in his answer, accused them of negligence in opposing the rioters, and conniving at their proceedings: "Therefore," said he, "We will neither grant you our favour nor good will, nor to the offenders mercy; but resort to our lord chancellor, and he shall declare to you our pleasure."

The king being expected at Westminster on the 22d of May, they, by the direction of the chancellor, resolved to wait upon him. Accordingly, on that day, the lord mayor, aldermen, and principal commoners, attended in their liveries; when his majesty, being seated under a canopy of state at the upper end of the hall, ordered the prisoners to be brought before him. They were accordingly brought in their shirts, bound together with ropes, and halters about their necks, to the number of four hundred men and eleven women; which sight had such an effect on the principal part of the nobility, that they warmly solicited the king for their pardon. Silence being proclaimed, and the city magistrates and commonalty ordered into the king's presence, the cardinal chancellor reprimanded them for their negligence; and then, addressing himself to the prisoners, said, that for their offences against the laws of the realm, and against his majesty's crown and dignity, they had incurred the punishment of death. On the close of these words, the people, with piteous lamentation, cried out, "Mercy, gracious Lord! mercy." This wrought so effectually on the king, that he yielded to the intreaties of his courtiers, and pronounced them pardon. Their halters were immediately taken off, and the people universally shouted, "Long live King Henry VIII." Before they were dismissed, the cardinal exhorted them to preserve loyalty and obedience to the king; which they faithfully promised, and expressed the most unbounded thanks for the clemency they had received.

The day on which this riot happened, was long known by the name of *Evil May-day;* and this circumstance greatly diminished the May games, which were before exhibited on setting up the great shaft, or May-pole, in Leadenhall-street, before the church thence termed the Church of St. Andrew Undershaft.

The city magistrates were soon after restored to the king's favour, through the mediation of Cardinal Wolsey, who had an entire ascendancy over the king, and was supposed to have been amply rewarded for his services on this occasion.

Some historians date this occurrence a year later; but as the generality of them place it in 1517, it was thought right to keep it to that year.

In the year 1518, an act of common-council was passed for establishing a court of requests, otherwise termed a court of conscience, in the city of London. By this act it was ordered, "That the lord mayor and aldermen, for the time being, should monthly assign and appoint two aldermen and four discreet commoners to sit at Guildhall, in a judicial manner, twice a week, viz. on Wednesdays and Saturdays, there to hear and determine all matters brought before them, between party and party, being citizens and freemen of London, in all cases where the debt or damage did not exceed forty shillings." This act was to continue in force for two years; but being found very salutary in preventing trivial litigations in higher and more expensive courts, it was continued by the same authority till the reign of James I. when it was made perpetual by an act of parliament.

Though the identity of the commercial interest with that of the state was not yet fully recognized, we find many proofs, about this period, that the intercourse with foreign nations had become a subject of importance to the government. Thus, in this year, a commercial, or rather a maritime, treaty was entered into, between the kings of England and France, to prevent the violences, robberies, and piracies, committed on the seas; by which it was stipulated, that one court should be instituted at London, and one at Rouen, to judge of such enormities.

This year the city of London in particular, and the whole kingdom in general, was visited with a return of that most dreadful epidemical disease, the sweating sickness. The effects were very sudden;

for it proved fatal in three hours after the patient was affected. When it first began, the king's court was exceeding splendid and numerous, on account of the Queen of Scotland being in London upon a visit to her brother; but the dreadful havock which the sickness made soon thinned it. That princess retired to Berwick; the law terms were adjourned; and the king, to keep the infection as much as he could from his family, reduced his officers and domestics to a very small number. It was computed, that in some towns half, and in others one third, of the inhabitants died of this dreadful distemper.

The citizens of London, thinking themselves disgraced by their sessions of the peace being held in the monastery of St. Martin-le-Grand, a foreign liberty, petitioned King Henry VIII. to repeal that part of King Edward the Third's charter, which appointed them to be held in that place. His majesty graciously complied with this petition, and granted them the following charter to remedy the inconvenience complained of.

" Henry, by the grace of God, King of England
" and France, and Lord of Ireland, to all to whom
" these presents shall come, greeting:

" Whereas Edward the Third, some time king of
" England, our progenitor, by his letters patent,
" amongst other things, has granted to the citizens
" of the city of London, that all inquisitions from
" hence, to be taken by the justices and other the
" ministers of the men of the said city, should be
" taken at Great St. Martin's, in London, and not
" elsewhere, except inquisitions to be taken in circuits
" in the Tower of London, and for the goal
" delivery of Newgate.

" Know ye, that we, for some urgent causes reasonable
" us moving, at the petition of the mayor
" an

" and commonalty aforesaid, and of the citizens of
" the same city, have, of our special grace, and
" from our certain knowledge and mere motion,
" granted, and by these presents do, for us and our
" heirs (as much as in us is) grant to the said mayor
" and commonalty, and unto their successors, and
" unto the same citizens of the same city, that all
" inquisitions by the justices or other of our minis-
" ters, or of our heirs, to be from henceforth taken
" of the men of our city aforesaid, shall be taken at
" the Guildhall, within the city aforesaid, or at any
" other place within the same city, where it shall
" from time to time be thought to our justices for
" the time being, before whom those inquisitions
" ought hereafter to be taken, most expedient and
" most convenient, and not elsewhere, except in-
" quisitions to be taken at the circuits of the Tower
" of London, and for the gaol delivery of Newgate.

" In witness whereof we have caused these our
" letters to be made patent. Witness myself, at
" Westminster, the 16th day of June, in the tenth
" year of our reign."

The act for licencing practitioners in physic, passed a few years back, having brought the faculty into better repute, the most able physicians now sought to keep ignorant pretenders entirely out of the profession, and, for that purpose, applied to the king for a charter of incorporation, to enable them to frame proper regulations for practitioners. Henry complied with their request, and granted them a charter in this year, which was confirmed by parliament in 1523, with additional privileges.

In this year the city ditch was cleansed, from Aldgate to the postern on Tower-hill, at an expense of ninety-five pounds three shillings and fourpence. The chief ditcher had seven-pence, the second six-pence, and the other ditchers five-pence, per day; and the vagabonds, for that was the term applied to the labourers, one penny, and meat and drink at the charge of the city.

London was afflicted with an infectious distemper in 1521, which carried off a considerable number of its inhabitants; at the same time the scarcity of grain of all sorts was such, that wheat was sold for twenty shillings a quarter.

Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, Lord High Constable of England, the richest and most powerful nobleman in the kingdom, but weak, vain, and ambitious, was this year tried by his peers, and found guilty of high treason, and beheaded on Tower-hill, May 17th. He appears to have been a desperate and dangerous man, who had formed the most pernicious schemes, and was capable of the most criminal actions.

In the year 1522, the Emperor Charles V. arrived in England on a visit to King Henry, who met him at Dover, and conducted him to Greenwich, where he was received by the queen, attended by the principal nobility. On their entrance into the city, the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, received them in their formalities, attended by the principal citizens on horseback, richly accoutred; on which occasion the streets were decorated with the most pompous ornaments, and a variety of magnificent pageants. The emperor was conducted to Black-friars, the place appointed for his residence, and the princes and nobility of his retinue, to the new palace at Bridewell. The emperor staid six weeks in England, and, before his departure, was installed a knight of the order of the garter.

This year also, Henry received a visit from Christian, King of Denmark, and his queen. On their arrival, they were received by the mayor and citizens, who conducted them with great pomp to the Bishop of Bath's palace, the place appointed for them during their stay. St. Peter's eve happening before their departure, their majesties, attended by the principal nobility, went to see the pompous march of the city watch; for which purpose they were conducted to the King's Head, in Cheapside, where they were highly pleased with the novelty of the sight, and afterwards elegantly entertained by Sir Thomas Baldry, the mayor.

Though war had not been declared, hostilities had already commenced, in this year, between France and England. Many of the English merchant-ships had been taken by the French; and, in particular, a whole fleet, laden with wine, had been seized at Bourdeaux, and the merchants cast into prison. The English had made reprisals, and the English ambassador at Paris was ordered to demand satisfaction for these injuries: in the mean time Henry commanded all the French and Scots, in London, to be apprehended and imprisoned.

The national animosity of the English against France, was now roused, and nothing was wanting to a vigorous attack of that kingdom but money. Henry was habitually extravagant, and at this time his treasury was almost empty. He and his favourite, Cardinal Wolsey, were unwilling to call a parliament, the only constitutional mode of supplying the wants of a King of England, and had recourse to other expedients, which have been always unpopular, and seldom effectual. The king demanded a loan of twenty thousand pounds from the city of London; which, with some difficulty, he obtained, upon granting an obligation signed by himself and the cardinal, for the repayment. Loans were also demanded from other cities and towns, and even from opulent individuals.

About

About two months after this loan, the king issued commissions to take a survey of the kingdom, with a view to demand of the laity the tenth of their moveable goods and rents, and of the clergy, over whom the cardinal's power was absolute, a fourth, as a voluntary aid or benevolence. But this dangerous, illegal demand met with such opposition, particularly in London, that the cardinal, with all his power and pride, found it necessary to depart from the rigorous exaction of it, and to content himself with what he could obtain by the milder arts of influence and persuasion. The sum raised in this way was far from being sufficient; and at length a parliament was summoned, which met at Blackfriars, on the 15th of April, 1523; but the supplies demanded by the cardinal were granted so unwillingly, and with such amendments, as disgusted the king and his favourite so highly that no parliament was called for seven years after.

The low rate of house-rents at this time shows, that even in London, there was but little wealth, compared with the present times. Howell, in his Londinopolis, p. 110, says, "That an ancient grammar school in Bow church-yard, being decayed, the school-house was let out for rent, about this time, at four shillings yearly, a cellar at two shillings, and two vaults under that church, both for fifteen shillings."

Much about this time, says Howell, in the same work, p. 208, soap began first to be made in London; "before which time, that city was served with white soap from beyond sea, and with grey soap, speckled with white, very sweet and good, from Bristol, sold here for a penny the pound, and never above a penny-farthing; also black soap for a halfpenny the pound."

By an act of parliament, of the fourteenth and fifteenth of Henry VIII. Cap. II. for settling how many apprentices and journeymen (not denizens) should be kept by foreign tradesmen in London, &c. great powers were given to the corporations of handicrafts over the workmanship of these foreigners, there being, in those times, smiths, joiners, coopers, &c. who were foreigners, and had seals or stamps put on their works, after being examined by the wardens of those corporations. The jurisdiction of the London corporations was, by this act, to extend two miles beyond the city, viz. "within the town of Westminster, the parishes of St. Martin, in the Fields, and, our Lady in the Strand, St. Clement's Danes, without Temple-bar, St. Giles's, in the Fields, St. Andrew's, in Holborn, the town and borough of Southwark, Shoreditch, Whitechapel parish, St. John's-street in Clerkenwell, and Clerkenwell parish; St. Botolph, without Aldgate, St. Catherine's, near the Tower of London, and Bermondsey-street."

This is an authentic view of the suburbs of London in 1524: we are not, however, to imagine that they were all contiguous to each other, as at present; the Strand was then chiefly taken up with the capital dwellings of the nobility, with their large gardens adjoining; and a considerable part of the parishes of St. Martin and St. Giles were literally in the fields, as was the northern part of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and a great part of Westminster, Clerkenwell, Shoreditch, Whitechapel, and Southwark.

Credulity was one of the distinguishing features of this period. In the almanacks made for this year, the astrologers, or, as they named themselves, astromers, had prognosticated that, from the approach of eclipses and planetary conjunctions, incessant rains and destructive inundations would take place. The citizens were greatly alarmed: many withdrew to the adjacent hills, and high grounds, for fear of being drowned; and among others Bolton, Prior of

St. Bartholomew's, in Smithfield, who built a house at Harrow on the Hill, and having laid in a store of provisions for two months, retired thither. Even those who relied on the promise made to Noah, were apprehensive of partial inundations, and collected meal for their subsistence till the waters should subside. But the year elapsed with little rain, and the almanack-makers redeemed their credit by confessing a mistake of a hundred years in their calculations.

The king being still in great want of money to prosecute the war with France, his prime minister, Wolsey, made another attempt, in 1525, to raise it without the consent of parliament. To this end, commissions were issued in the king's name, for levying a fourth part of all the goods and chattels of the clergy, and a sixth of those of the laity. This arbitrary imposition occasioned so universal a rupture among the people, that they appeared ripe for rebellion, particularly the citizens of London. Henry, dreading the consequences, openly disavowed the cardinal's conduct, and immediately sent a letter to the mayor and aldermen, declaring that he would not exact any thing of them by compulsion, but by way of benevolence, as had been practised by his predecessors. In consequence of this the cardinal sent for the mayor and aldermen, and expostulated with them on the condescension of his majesty, who had remitted the payment of a sixth of all their effects, and instead thereof had only appointed them to pay a certain benevolence: he, therefore, desired them to return, and make proper assessments in their respective wards for raising the same. To this the recorder replied, that, by a statute of the first of Richard III. such benevolences were abolished. The cardinal, in return, said, "that Richard was an usurper and tyrant; a murderer, and one of the greatest criminals: that he had no power to make a law; and that no act made by such a wretch could be binding; therefore the city's argument was trifling, and of none effect." Wolsey now thought of another expedient, which was to try what he could do with the magistrates separately. To effect this, he began with the lord mayor, who candidly told him he could give no answer to his question without consulting his brethren, the common-council. The cardinal, finding this scheme not likely to succeed, then solicited the mayor and aldermen, in their private capacities, to contribute what they thought proper. This also they refused to comply with till they had communicated his request to the common-council, who so strongly rejected it, that the court moved for expelling Richard Gresham, John Hewster, and Richard Gibson, three of their members, for speaking in favour of so great an imposition; which animated spirit of the citizens occasioned the benevolence to be rejected in all parts of the kingdom. Thus, by the vigilance of the city of London against the iniquitous schemes of ministerial power, was the oppressive methods proposed by Cardinal Wolsey to raise money entirely annihilated.*

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* Hume, in a note to the third volume of his History of England, speaking of these attempts, says "It is said, that when Henry heard the commons made a great difficulty of granting the required supply, he was so provoked that he sent for Edward Montague, one of the members who had a considerable influence on the house; and he being introduced to his majesty, had the mortification to hear him speak in these words, *Ho! man! will they not suffer my bill to pass?* And, laying his hand on Montague's head, who was then on his knees before him, *Get my bill passed by to-morrow, or else to-morrow this head of your's shall be off* This cavalier manner of Henry's succeeded; for next day the bill passed. We are told by Hall, folio 38, that Cardinal Wolsey endeavoured to terrify the citizens of London into the general loan exacted in 1525, and told them plainly, that *it were better that some should suffer indigence than that the king at this time should*

The plague raged so fiercely in London, in the latter part of this year, that the king removed to Eltham; the Michaelmas term was adjourned, and the city so much deserted by its inhabitants, that the ensuing Christmas was denominated the Still Christmas.

The citizens having found themselves greatly injured by foreigners, who had obtained licences for the importation of woad, applied to the mayor and common-council for redress; who enacted, That for the future no citizen should presume to buy, sell, or have any intercourse with foreign importers of that article.

In the year 1527, the cardinal being appointed ambassador extraordinary to the court of France, on his way thither he rode through the city in the greatest pomp, attended by a numerous train of the chief nobility, gentry, and prelates, who, together with his and their domestics, formed a body of twelve hundred horsemen. This magnificent cavalcade was preceded by sixty sumpter-horses and mules, and eighty baggage-carriages, which were followed by a great number of gentlemen, three in a rank, richly dressed in velvet, with large golden chains about their necks: then followed two gentlemen, each carrying a very large silver cross; next came two others, with a stately silver column each, followed by two other gentlemen, one carrying the great seal of England, and the other the cardinal's hat: after them rode a gentleman, carrying the cardinal's portmanteau of scarlet, richly embroidered, with a cloak therein: then came the cardinal, gorgeously apparelled, mounted on a stately mule, followed by a led horse, and a mule trapped

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should lack; *and therefore beware, and resist not, nor ruffle not, in this case*; *for it may fortune to cost some people their heads.* Such was the style employed by this king and his ministers.

with crimson velvet; then came the nobility, gentry, and clergy, followed by his and their domestics, all clothed in dark orange-coloured coats, with T. C. that is, Thomas, Cardinal, embroidered on them.

In the same year, two ambassadors extraordinary from the court of France made their public entry into London, attended by a great number of their countrymen of the first quality. Apartments were provided for them and their retinue in the Bishop of London's palace; where each of them was presented by the mayor, in the name of the corporation, with five fat oxen, twenty sheep, twelve swans, twelve cranes, twelve pheasants, four dozen of partridges, twenty loaves of sugar, eight hogsheads of wine, and all sorts of spices, fruit, &c.

Corn was at this time so scarce, that many of the poorer sort perished for want, and a general famine was apprehended. This dreadful calamity was, however, stopped in London, by a supply of a thousand quarters of corn given by the king, and by the importation of vast quantities of grain from the continent; while, by the diligence and care of the mayor and sheriffs, in preventing the bakers' carts coming from Stratford from being plundered, the Londoners were better provided, and sooner relieved from their distresses, than any other part of the nation.

On the 1st of June an act of common council was passed, whereby it was agreed, ordained, and enacted, "That if hereafter any freeman or freewoman of this city take an apprentice, and within the term of seven years suffer the same apprentice to go at his large liberty and pleasure; and within and after the said term agree with his said apprentice, for a certain sum of money, or otherwise, for his said service, and within, or after the end of the said term, the said freeman present the said apprentice to the chamberlain of the city, and by good deliberation, and upon his oath made to the same city, the same freeman or freewoman assureth and affirmeth to the said chamberlain, that the said apprentice hath fully served his said term as apprentice: or if any freeman or freewoman of this city take any apprentice, which, at the time of the said taking, hath any wife: or if any freeman or freewoman of this city give any wages to his or her apprentice, or suffer the said apprentices to take any part of their own getting or gains: or if any freeman or freewoman of this city hereafter colour any foreign goods, or from henceforth buy or sell, for any person or persons, or with or to any person or persons, being foreign or foreigners, cloths, silks, wines, oils, or any other goods or merchandize, whatsoever they be, whether he take any thing or things for his or their wages or labour, or not: if any person or persons, being free of this city, by any colour or deceitful means, from henceforth do buy, sell, or receive, of any apprentice within this city, any money, goods, merchandize, or wares, without the assent or licence of his master or mistress; and, upon examination, duly proved before the chamberlain of the said city for the time being, and the same reported, by the mouth of the said chamberlain, at a court to be holden by the mayor and aldermen of the said city, in their council chamber; that, as well the said master as the said apprentice, shall for evermore be disfranchised."

To which act the following instructions were added.

" Ye shall constantly and devoutly on your knees, every day, serve God, morning and evening, and make conscience in the due hearing of the word preached, and endeavour the right practice thereof in your life and conversation. You shall do diligent and faithful service to your master for the time of your apprenticeship, and deal truly in what you shall be trusted. You shall often read over the covenants of your indenture, and see and endeavour yourself to perform the same to the utmost of your power. You shall avoid all evil company, and all occasions which may tend to draw you to the same; and make speedy return when you shall be sent of your master's or mistress's business. You shall be of fair, gentle, and lowly speech and behaviour towards all men; especially to all your governors. And according to your carriage expect your reward, for good or ill, from God and your friends."

The sweating sickness broke out again, in 1528, with such violence as to carry off vast numbers of its victims after an illness of five or six hours; which occasioned the adjournment of the term, and prevented the annual solemnity of the marching of the city watch: the latter, on account of its expense to the city, was afterwards forbidden by the king, and was discontinued until the 2d of Edward VI.

A war being likely to break out between England and the emperor, about this period, Lord Herbert says, "that our merchants, who used not then to trade to the northern and remote countries they now frequent, foreseeing the consequence of those wars, refused to buy the cloths that were brought to Blackwell-hall, in London; whereupon the clothiers, spinners, and carders, in many shires in England, began to mutiny; for appeasing whereof, the cardinal minister commands our merchants to take off those cloths at a reasonable price from the poor mens' hands, threatening, otherwise, that the king himself should buy them, and sell them to strangers: but the sullen merchants, little moved herewith, said they had no reason to buy commodities they knew not how to vend." And though this threat was accompanied by another, of removing the cloth-market from Blackwell-hall to Westminster, they remained inflexible, and the market was allowed to continue.

The subject of Henry's divorce from Queen Catharine, had been long in agitation both in England and Rome; at length, in October of this year, Cardinal Campegius arrived in London, as the pope's representative, bringing with him a joint-commission for himself and Wolsey to act as legates *a latere* in England, with the most ample powers to judge and determine the affair of the king's marriage.

On the arrival of Campegius, this became the general subject of conversation, and was so unpopular, that insurrections were apprehended. To prevent these, the king made a speech to an assembly of nobles, prelates, the mayor, aldermen, and principal citizens of London, and many other persons of note, in the hall of his palace of Bridewell, on the 8th of November. He declared, with the most awful solemnity, that the troubles of his conscience, and the dread of a disputed succession, and not any dislike to his queen, were the motives which determined him to have the legality of his marriage fully tried: he concluded by informing them, that if, after this, any of them presumed to impute his conduct to unworthy motives, or attempted to raise disturbances, they should be severely punished. This speech, with some other precautions that were taken, preserved the public tranquillity.

But, though Henry was lulled into a belief that the pope would, in the end, acquiesce in his wishes, the sequel is a convincing proof, that the nomination of this commission was only for the purpose of gaining time. Many delays and evasions took place, before the commissioners began to act. At length, the great hall of the Black-friars, being properly fitted up, the court was opened with great pomp on the

31st of May, 1529. The queen protested against its legality, and denied the competency of the legates to determine the matter. The court adjourned to June 21st, to consider of her protest, when she persisted in her refusal to acknowledge their power, and never after appeared there. Several sessions were afterwards held by the legates, and it was expected that a final decision would be obtained; but on the 30th of July, when a sentence of divorce was confidently looked for by the king and court, a further adjournment was made, and, before the day appointed, the cause was recalled to Rome.

The duplicity of the Roman pontiff and his legates wrought so powerfully on the mind of the king, that this event may be considered as the principal cause which influenced him to embrace the Reformation shortly after. It is certain that he never forgave Wolsey for the share he had in it; in fact, his late favourite and counsellor was only once admitted into his presence after this, and that was at a formal audience, preparatory to the departure of Campegius.

On the first day of Michaelmas term, the cardinal rode to Westminster with the usual state, to open the court of chancery; and the same day the king's attorney preferred an indictment against him in the court of King's Bench, for procuring a bull from Rome, appointing him legate *a latere*, contrary to the statute of the 16th Richard II. by which he had incurred a præmunire, and forfeited all his goods and his liberty to the king. The court, having heard the cardinal's answer to this charge, pronounced sentence upon him, conformably to the terms of that statute; by which the whole of his possessions, real and personal, became the property of the king.

Henry having seized all the cardinal's goods, chattels, revenues, &c. granted him a pardon in the most ample manner that could be devised, in the beginning of the following year; he likewise restored him a part of his goods, a catalogue of which, with their valuation, is preserved in the Fœdera,* viz. nine thousand five hundred and sixty-five ounces and three quarters of silver plate, at three shillings and eight-pence per ounce; one thousand ling, valued at fifty pounds, or one shilling each; eight hundred cod, valued at forty pounds, the same; eighty horses, with their furniture, valued at one hundred and fifty pounds, or one pound seventeen shillings and sixpence each; four mules, for the saddle, with furniture, valued at sixty pounds, or fifteen pounds each; six mules, for carriage, valued at forty pounds, or six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence each; sixty-two oxen, valued at eighty pounds, or one pound five shillings and nine-pence three-farthings each; eighty sheep, valued at twelve pounds, or three shillings each; and three thousand pounds in money.

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* Vol. XIV. p. 375.

CHAP. XXVI.

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Proclamation against Heresies.—Executions in Smithfield.—Grand Entertainment at Ely House.—The English New Testament burnt at St. Paul's Cross.—Dissension among the London Clergy.—General Muster of the Citizens.—Butchers' Meat ordered to be sold by weight.—Number of Butchers in London.—Act for paving the Strand.—Splendid Coronation of Anne Boleyn.—Foreign Butchers prohibited from selling their Meat except in Leadenhall-market.—The Maid of Kent.—Acts for paving the Suburbs.—Commerce with Italy.—More Martyrs.—Grant for supplying the eastern Part of the City with Water.—The Bishop of Rochester and Sir Thomas More beheaded.—Execution of Anne Boleyn.—Henry's Marriage with Jane Seymour.—Price of Wines and Coals.—Voyage of Discovery.—Suppression of the Religious Houses.—Act of Common-council for preserving the Navigation of the Thames.—The New Testament printed in London.—Case of John Nicholson.—Anabaptists burnt.—The Citizens mustered again.—A Foreigner permitted to be present at all Deliberations of the Common-council.—State of the Shipping in the Port of London.—Charter to the Archers.—The Shews put down.—Public Entry of Anne of Cleves.—Her Marriage and Divorce.—Indiscriminate Execution of Papists and Protestants.—Invention of leaden Pipes for the Conveyance of Water.—Execution of the Countess of Salisbury.—Paving Act.—The Bible printed by the King's Authority.—The Sheriffs punished for a Breach of the Privileges of the House of Commons.—Sumptuary Law.—General Act for paving the Suburbs.—Division of Wapping Marsh.—Tilbury Fort erected.—Collar of Gold to be worn by the Lord Mayors.—An Alderman pressed.—Early Newspapers.—Acts for regulating Payments to the Vicars, and Qualifications of Grand Jurors.—A Regiment of Foot raised by the City.—A remarkable Sleeper.—Proclamation of Peace.—Execution of Mrs. Askew. Reception of the French Ambassador.—The Earl of Surrey tried at Guildhall.—St. Bartholomew's Hospital founded.

The variances between the courts of London and Rome, and between the clergy and laity, had given birth to a general spirit of inquiry into religious matters, which had hitherto been restrained by the strong arm of power, as well as by the gross ignorance of the bulk of the community in earlier times. The prospect of Anne Boleyn's elevation to the throne, had, at the same time, encouraged the friends of the reformed religion, of which she was a partisan, to show themselves more openly: but though Henry was dissatisfied with the pontiff, his zeal for the catholic religion was not yet repressed; he therefore was extremely active in persecuting the prevailing schisms, and issued a proclamation, commanding his chancellor, judges, justices of the peace, and all other civil magistrates, to assist the bishops in extirpating all heresies and heretics; in consequence of which, several protestants were burnt in different parts of the kingdom, and three, Bilney, Bayfield, and Baynard, the two first ecclesiastics, and the latter a lawyer, were condemned to the flames, and executed in Smithfield.

In the year 1531, one Richard Rose, cook to the Bishop of Rochester, was boiled to death in Smithfield, agreeable to his sentence, for putting poison into some soup, by which sixteen people, who had ate of it, died. It was intended for his master, who luckily escaped, owing to his being greatly indisposed on that day.

A grand entertainment was given this year, at Ely House, by eleven gentlemen of the law, on their promotion to the dignity of the coif. The guests were the king, the foreign ministers, the pages, master of the rolls, masters in chancery, and sergeants at law; the lord mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, livery-men, and principal merchants; and the entertainments lasted for four days. A part of the bill of fare, which is preserved, will show the disparity between the prices of provisions at that period and at this time: it is as follows.

	L.	S.	D.
Twenty-four large oxen, each at -	1	6	8
The carcass of a large ox - -	1	4	0
One hundred sheep, each at - -	0	2	10
Fifty-one calves, each at - -	0	4	8
Thirty-four hogs, each at - -	0	3	8
Ninety-one pigs, each at - -	0	0	6
Ten doz. capons of Greece, each doz, at	0	1	8
Nine dozen and a half of Kentish capons, each at - - -	0	1	0
Nineteen dozen of common capons, each at - - - - -	0	0	6
Seven dozen and nine of grose, or heath cocks, each at - - -	0	0	8
Fourteen doz. and eight common cocks, each at - - -	0	0	3
The best pullets, at - -	0	0	2½
Common ditto, at - - -	0	0	2
Thirty-seven dozen of pigeons, each dozen at - - -	0	0	10
Three hundred and forty doz. of larks, each dozen at - - -	0	0	5

About this time Mr. Tindall and others translated and published the New Testament, in the English tongue; but Stokesley, Bishop of London, procured as many copies of it as he could, and caused them to be burnt at St. Paul's cross.

In the following year the whole clergy of England were involved in a præmunire, and put out of the king's protection, for acquiescing in the legatine power of Cardinal Wolsey; and were compelled to redeem their persons and goods by a compromise with the king, by which they undertook to pay a large sum of money, in full satisfaction for their delinquency. This sum, which in the province of Canterbury, amounted to one hundred thousand pounds, the bishops endeavoured to raise by a contribution among the parochial clergy, thus screening themselves from the payment of it: but this attempt was so highly resented by the London clergy, that they broke into the chapter-house of St. Paul's, and beat and abused the bishop's servants. Stokesley, surprised at this unexpected resistance, and fearful of personal injury, pretended to forgive their violence, and desired them to depart quietly; but as soon as he found himself freed from the immediate danger, he made application to the lord chancellor for redress, who gave orders to the lord mayor to secure those who had been principally concerned in the riot. In consequence of this order, fifteen priests, with their accomplices, were apprehended, and committed to the Tower and other prisons, where they were long confined, and afterwards disgraced.

The behaviour of the Londoners, who in every instance obeyed the king's pleasure, and concurred with his majesty in his measures to cast off the Romish yoke, pleased him so, that he expressed his regard and grateful affection for them by cancelling the letters patent, granted by himself to Sir William Sidney, on the 18th of June, in the thirteenth year of his reign, relating to the great beam and common balance, and restoring the citizens to the tronage, or right of weights and beams, as it had been granted them by King Edward II. and King Henry IV. and had been ratified and confirmed by his own charter to the citizens, dated on the 12th of July, in the first year of his reign.

The king, fearful of the consequences of his intended rejection of the pope's supremacy, and, at the same time, desirous of ascertaining his real strength, ordered a general muster to be made of all the defencible men within the city or the liberties, from the age of sixteen to sixty, to be held at Mile-end, in the fields between Whitechapel church and Stepney church; and commanding that their names, and an account of the weapons, armour, and other military accoutrements belonging to the city, should then be also taken down, and sent to him: on which occasion the citizens were clothed in white, with white caps and feathers; the lord mayor, aldermen, recorder and sheriffs, appeared well mounted on stately coursers, richly caparisoned, and clothed in white armour, and black velvet coats, embroidered with the city arms; and having gold chains about their necks, velvet caps on their heads, and gilt battle-axes in their right hands, attended by proper pages, servants, and a great number of citizens, on horseback, also superbly dressed.

The muster was made early in the morning, and about nine o'clock they began to march, entering the city at Aldgate and proceeding to Westminster, where they passed in review before the king and his nobles, who expressed the highest satisfaction at their splendid and martial appearance, and returning through Holborn to Leadenhall, where they separated. The procession was not at an end until five o'clock in the afternoon.

By an act of the twenty-fourth of Henry VIII. Cap. III. beef, pork, mutton, and veal, were first directed to be sold by weight; no person to take above one half-penny for a pound of beef or pork, nor above three farthings for mutton or veal. On this occasion, James Howell, in his Londinopolis, remarks, that the number of butchers in London and its suburbs, did not then exceed eighty, each of whom killed nine oxen weekly. But this law was afterwards repealed, and the regulation of the prices referred to a committee of the privy-council.

By another statute, Cap. XI. the street-way between Charing-cross and Strand-cross, in the suburbs of London, was directed to be sufficiently paved and maintained at the charge of the owners of the lands adjoining. This shows that the Strand was not then built into a continued street.

It having been resolved at court that Cranmer, who was advanced to the primacy in the preceding year, should proceed to the examination and final determination of the long contested question of the divorce, the primate on the 23d of May, 1533, declared the marriage with Catharine null and void; and, in a court held at Lambeth, on the 28th of May, gave judgment on the marriage with Anne Boleyn, which had been privately celebrated six months before, declaring it to be good and valid.

Previous to the coronation of the queen, Henry ordered the lord mayor to make all necessary preparations for conducting her from Greenwich to the Tower, by water; and also that the city might be decorated on her proceeding from thence to Westminster.

The lord mayor, in compliance with the royal mandate, ordered all the city companies to attend him on the 29th of May, at Billingsgate, with their barges properly decorated and good bands of music. In consequence of this, fifty barges were prepared, and about one o'clock set off to attend the lord mayor's barge, which was richly ornamented, with strict orders to keep at a proper distance from each other during the procession.

The city barge was covered with gold brocade and silken sails, with two rich standards of the royal arms at the head and stern; and a great variety of streamers and flags, containing the arms of the company, and those of the merchant-adventurers. Before the city barge was one mounted with ordnance, carrying figures of savages, dragons, and other creatures, vomiting out fire and smoak, and making an incessant noise. On the left of the city barge was one representing a mount, on which stood a white falcon crowned, perched on a golden stump, encircled with red and white roses; and round the mount sat beautiful virgins, singing and playing melodiously on instruments of music. After these followed all the companies' barges in their proper order, and the whole formed a most beautiful and splendid appearance.

The queen was highly pleased with the magnificence of the procession; and, on her arrival at the Tower of London, she returned the mayor and citizens her sincere thanks for their pompous attendance.

The 31st of May, being the day appointed for her majesty's procession to Westminster, she was received at the Tower-gate, by the lord mayor in a gown of crimson velvet, and a rich collar of SS. attended by the sheriffs and two domestics in red and white damask. From the Tower to Temple-bar the streets were new gravelled, and railed on each side; within which, in Gracechurch-street, stood the company of Anseatic merchants, and next to them the several corporations of the city, in their respective formalities, reaching to the aldermens' station at the farther end of Cheapside. On the outside were placed the city constables, dressed in silk and velvet, with staves in their hands to keep off the crowd and prevent disturbances. Goldsmith's-row, in Cheapside, was hung with velvet and gold brocades, and Gracechurch-street and Cornhill, with crimson and scarlet cloth.

Twelve of the French ambassador's servants preceded the procession; they were dressed in blue velvet, mounted on horses trapped with blue sarsenets, interspersed with white crosses; after whom marched those of the equestrian order, two and two, followed by the judges in their robes; after them the Knights of the Bath, in violet gowns, trimmed with meniver; then the abbots, barons, bishops, earls, and marquisses, in their robes, two and two; after these the lord chancellor, Venetian ambassador, and Archbishop of York; next, the Ambassador of France and the Archbishop of Canterbury, followed by two gentlemen who represented the Dukes of Normandy and Aquitain; then proceeded the Lord Mayor of London, with his mace, and garter in his coat of arms; then the Duke of Suffolk, lord high steward, and the Lord Howard as deputy-marshal of England; next followed all the other great officers of state, in their robes, carrying the symbols of their several offices; these were followed by the nobility, in crimson velvet, and all the queen's officers in scarlet, followed by her chancellor uncovered, who immediately preceded his mistress sitting in a litter or chair covered with tissue of silver, and drawn by wo beautiful pads, cloathed in white damask, and led by her footmen. Her majesty was dressed in a silver brocade, with a mantle of the same, furred with ermine. Her hair hung loose, and on her head was a chaplet adorned with jewels of inestimable value. Over the litter was a canopy of cloth of gold, supported by sixteen knights alternately, four at a time, with a silver bell hanging at each corner. Her majesty's chamberlain followed next, and after him her master of horse leading a stately pad with a side-saddle, and trappings of silver tissue; next to these came seven ladies in crimson velvet, faced with gold brocade, and mounted on beautiful horses richly trapped with gold; these were followed by two chariots covered with cloth of gold, in which were the Dutchess of Norfolk and Marchioness of Dorset in the first, and in the second four ladies in crimson velvet; next came several ladies in the same apparel on horseback, adorned with beautiful trappings, then a third chariot all in white, carrying six ladies in crimson velvet; then a fourth all in red, in which were eight ladies in the same dress; then thirty gentlewomen, attendants on the ladies of honour, on horseback, dressed in silks and velvets; and the whole was closed by the guards, well mounted and elegantly accoutred.

On her majesty's arrival in Fenchurch-street, she stopped at a beautiful pageant, crowded with children in mercatorial habits; who, addressing themselves to her majesty, congratulated her on her happy arrival. She then proceeded to Gracechurch corner, where was erected a magnificent pageant, representing Parnassus, with the fountain of Helicon, in white marble, from which were four springs issuing out Rhenish wine, which centered in a small globe at the summit, and continued running plentifully all day: on the mount sat Apollo, and at his feet Caliope; under whom were the rest of the muses playing on musical instruments; and at their feet were inscribed, in letters of gold, epigrams adapted for the occasion.

At Leadenhall was another stately pageant, representing a hillock encompassed with red and white roses; above which was a golden stump, and a little higher a tippe, with a celestial rose, from which descended a white falcon, which perched on the stump; this was soon followed by an angel in a celestial choir, who put a crown of gold upon his head. On the hillock, a little lower, sat St. Anne, surrounded by her progeny, one of whom addressed the queen in a speech, wishing her majesty blessed with a happy issue.

At the conduit in Cornhill the graces sat enthroned, with a fountain before them incessantly playing with wine, and underneath a poet describing their peculiar qualities, and presenting the queen with their several presents. The great conduit opposite Mercer's-hall, in Cheapside, was beautifully painted with a variety of curious emblems, and which, for the entertainment of the populace, ran all day with a diversity of rich wines. The standard in Wood-street was beautifully ornamented with royal portraitures, encompassed by a number of flags, on which were painted coats of arms and trophies; and above was a fine concert of music, both vocal and instrumental. When her majesty arrived as the aldermens' station, near the little conduit, at the upper end of Cheapside, John Baker, the recorder, after addressing her with an elegant speech, presented her, in the name of the citizens, with a purse of gold tissue, containing one thousand marks, which her majesty gratefully received. On the little conduit, in a rich pageant, were seated Pallas, Juno, and Venus; before whom stood Mercury, who, in their names, presented the queen with a golden ball trebly divided, representing the three gifts of wisdom, riches, and felicity. At the gate of St. Paul's a stately pageant presented itself, in which three ladies, sumptuously dressed, with chaplets on their heads, exhibited various inscriptions adapted for the occasion. As her majesty passed St. Paul's school, she was highly entertained with verses made by the scholars in praise of herself and the king.

The prison of Ludgate was beautifully ornamented, on the top of which were men and boys singing a concert during the procession. A handsome tower, with four turrets, was erected at the end of Shoe-lane, Fleet-street; in each turret stood a cardinal virtue, and their symbols; who, addressing themselves to the queen, promised never to forsake her, but be always her constant attendants. The conduit ran the whole time with variety of wines, and in the tower was a fine concert of music.

At Temple-bar her majesty was again entertained with songs in concert by men and boys; and proceeding from thence to Westminster, she there dismissed the lord mayor, returning him her sincere and hearty thanks for his good offices, and those of the citizens, on this occasion.

The following day being appointed for her majesty's coronation, the lord mayor, dressed in crimson velvet, with his collar of SS. attended by the aldermen and sheriffs in scarlet, repaired to Westminster, where they performed their several offices belonging to that ceremony. And, on the Wednesday following, the king sent for the mayor and aldermen to Westminster, who attending accordingly, his majesty returned them thanks for their good services both to him and the queen.

The magistrates of the city of London had hitherto permitted foreign butchers to bring their meat on Wednesdays and Saturdays to Leadenhall-street, and to sell it on stalls before the citizens' houses, who made considerable advantage of the ground on which they stood: but it being now thought the city revenue might be greatly augmented by erecting stalls in Leadenhall, and obliging all butchers to repair to them, it was ordered by the court of aldermen, that they should sell their meats in Leadenhall market, and no where else.

In the year 1534, Elizabeth Barton, commonly called the holy maid of Kent, with her accomplices, were hanged at Tyburn. This was another instance of the credulity of the times. The woman being subject to fits, in which she uttered many incoherent expressions, was thought a fit instrument to excite a popular outcry against the government. She was therefore taught to counterfeit trances, and instructed what to say in them, and to affirm that these things were revealed to her by the Holy Ghost. Her pretended inspirations were seconded by the monks and some of the secular clergy, who repeated and strengthened her predictions from the pulpit. At length her most active accomplices and herself were apprehended; and, having confessed the plot, they were attainted by parliament and executed.

One Pavier, town clerk of London, hung himself about this time, according to Hollingshed, who affirms that he had heard him say "with a great oath," that rather than live to see the scripture set forth in English, he would cut his own throat.

An act of parliament was passed in this year for paving the west end of the high street in London, between Holborn-bridge and Holborn-bars, and also the streets of Southwark; and that every one should maintain the said pavement before his own ground, or forfeit to the king, sixpence for every square yard.

According to Hakluyt's second volume, p. 96, from about the years 1511 and 1512, to the year 1534, divers tall ships of London, and also of Southampton and Bristol, had an unusual trade to Sicily, Candia, and Chios, and sometimes to Cyprus, and to Tripoli, and Baruth in Syria. They exported sundry sorts of woollen cloths, calf-skins, &c. and imported silks, camblets, and rhubarb; malmsey, muscadel, and other wines; oils, cotton-wool, Turkey carpets, galls, and India spices: yet, in those days, they were generally twelve months in those voyages, as were two ships going this year from London to Candia and Chios; which voyage was found so hazadous and dangerous, that one of these ships was put into Blackwall dock, and never more went to sea. In the next year a ship of three hundred tons, with one hundred persons in her, went from London on the same Levant voyage, and returned in eleven months, having settled factors in those places.

Though Henry had renounced his subjection to the see of Rome, he was, in several respects, a bigotted catholic, and a strict adherent of many of the popish tenets: besides he had written a book against Luther, who, in his reply, had not treated him with much respect. This had incensed Henry beyond a possibility of reconciliation; in fine, Henry wanted to be the pope's rival, but without being either a Lutherian or a Sacramentarian: he still preserved the invocation of saints, but under certain restrictions. It was with him equally a crime to believe in the authority of the pope, and to be a protestant; and in the course of his reign, he alike condemned to the flames those who spoke in favour of the Roman pontiff, and those who declared for the reformed religion. In particular, he now ordered the prior of the Carthusian monks of the Charterhouse, London; the prior of Hexham; Benase, a monk of Sion college; and John Haile, vicar of Isleworth, together with three monks of the Charterhouse to be hanged and quartered at Tyburn, on the 18th of July, this year (1534), for refusing to submit to the new laws: and a little before, orders were given for burning twenty-seven protestants, viz. John Frith, a man of great learning, Andrew Hewet, and nineteen men and six women, born in Holland, to convince the world, that his severity to the ecclesiastics was not actuated by any fondness he was charged with for the new religion.

In the year 1535, the common-council granted two fifteenths towards defraying the expenses of bringing water from Hackney to Aldgate, where a conduit was erected for the use of the eastern part of the city.

On the fifteenth of January, in this year, Henry assumed the title of supreme head of the church; and he maintained it with so much jealousy, that he spared none who called it in question.

Among other victims of this jealousy may be enumerated Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More. The king, who was irritated against them for their opposition to his divorce and second marriage, and also knew their attachment to the see of Rome, determined to make them acknowledge his supremacy, or to make them examples that none who opposed it should escape with impunity. The bishop was tried on the 17th of June, and found guilty of high-treason, in having denied the king's supremacy; and was beheaded on Tower-hill on the 22d of June. Ten days after, his friend Sir Thomas More, was tried and found guilty of the same offence, and suffered the same punishment on the 6th of July.

Henry was a prince of impetuous passions, and, at the same time, fickle and capricious. He had surmounted many difficulties to obtain the hand of his beloved Anne Boleyn, and had enjoyed the greatest conjugal felicity with her; but, in the beginning of the year 1536, a new object, Jane Seymour, captivated his heart. This new passion extinguished all his former love, which was succeeded by the most furious, and, as far as appears, unfounded jealousy. On the first of May there was a grand tournament at Greenwich, at which the king, queen, and all the court were present. In the midst of the diversion the king rose suddenly from his seat, went out, mounted his horse and rode off, attended by only six persons. The cause of his abrupt departure is unknown; but on the following day the queen was sent to the Tower, and such was Henry's severity, that he debarred her from seeing all her relations and friends: even her almoner was denied admittance. On the 13th of May she was brought to her trial in the great hall of the Tower, before less than half the then number of peers of England; she was found guilty, without a shadow of proof, of having conspired the king's death, and sentenced to be burnt or beheaded as the king should direct. On the 19th of May, she was beheaded on a scaffold erected on the green within the Tower, from which all strangers were excluded; the only persons present at her execution being the Dukes of Suffolk and Richmond, Chancellor Audley, Secretary Cromwell, and the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London. Little respect was shown to her remains: no coffin being provided, her body was put into a chest made for holding arrows, and instantly buried in the chapel in the Tower.

On the following day Henry married her more fortunate rival, Jane Seymour, whose happiness it was not to outlive his affection. She died on the 24th of October, 1537, twelve days after the birth of a son, who was named Edward.

In this year parliament directed that all French wines should be sold for eight pence the gallon, and Malmsey and Romney sack, and all other sweet wines, at one shilling.

At the same time, coals were sold at Newcastle at two shillings and two pence the chaldron, "wherefore," says Maitland, "I imagine that they were then sold in this city at about four shillings."

The spirit of mercantile adventure, which had sprung up in the preceding reign, still continued and increased; and the circle of trade was gradually enlarged. Many voyages were now undertaken for the discovery of unknown countries, but the accounts we have of them are very imperfect. In this year, Mr. Hore, a merchant of London, prevailed upon thirty young gentlemen to accompany him in a voyage of discovery on the north coast of America, with a view to find a north-west passage to India. They sailed from Gravesend, in April, 1536, with two ships, the Trinity and the Minion; and, after having been reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions, reached England again, in the month of October of the same year. Though this voyage was unfavourable to the proposed object, it gave rise to the very beneficial fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, which island, with that of Cape Breton, were discovered in the early part of it.

On the 21st of October, 1537, King Henry, by the ministry of his vicar-general Cromwell, ordered the church of St. Thomas of Acres, otherwise Thomas of Becket, in London, to be suppressed. On the 16th of November, the Black-friars; and on the 17th the White-friars, the Grey-friars, and the Carthusian-monks of the Charter-house, underwent the same fate.

In the year 1538, the common-council passed an act to enforce the observance of a statute which had been made by the parliament for preserving the navigation of the river Thames, whereby it was enacted as follows:

"That proclamation should be made within this city, and the same to be put in writing, and tables thereof made, and set up in divers places of this city, that it shall be lawful to every person to dig, carry away, and take away, sand, gravel, or any rubbish, earth, or any thing, lying and being in any shelve or shelfts, within the said river of Thames, without let or interruption of any person, and without any thing paying for the same: and after that to sell the same away, or otherwise to occupy or dispose of the said gravel, sand, or other thing, at their free liberty and pleasure. And that all paviours, bricklayers, tylers, masons, and all others that occupy sand or gravel, shall endeavour themselves, with all diligence, to occupy the said sand or gravel, and none other, paying for the same reasonably, as they should and ought to pay for other sand or gravel, digged out of other mens' grounds about the said city. That further application be made to his majesty, that all persons having lands or tenements along the said river-side, shall well and sufficiently repair and maintain all the walls and banks adjoining unto their said lands, so that the water may not, nor shall break in upon the same. And that strong grates of iron along the said water-side, and also by the street-side, where any water course is had into the said Thames, be made by the inhabitants of each ward, so along the said water, as of old times has been accustomed; and that every grate be in height twenty-four inches at the least, as the place shall need; and in breadth, one from another, one inch." And further, "that if the occupiers of the said lands and tenements made default contrary to the ordinance aforesaid, or else, if any person or persons, in great rains or at other times, sweep their soilage, or filth of their houses, into the channel, and the same afterwards is conveyed into the Thames, every person so offending shall forfeit for every such default one shilling and eight pence; and that upon complaint to be made to any constable next adjoining to the said place, where any such default shall be found, or his sufficient deputy for the time being, from time to time, to distrain for the said offence, and to retain the same irreplagiable. And a like law to be kept and observed, and like penalty to be paid by every person that burns ashes and straw in their houses, or wash in the common streets or lanes, and to be recovered as aforesaid; and one moiety thereof to be to the lord mayor and commonalty, and the other moiety between the constable and the informer: and that the constable that shall refuse to do his duty in this case, shall pay three shillings and four pence, for every offençe, recoverable in the same manner, and for the same uses. And that no person or persons, having a wharf or house by the water-side, shall make their lay-stalls where the common rakers of this city use to lay all their soilage, to be carried away by them in their dung-boats; and that the said rakers shall lay their dung to be carried away in boats, at such places as shall be appointed by the lord mayor and the court of aldermen, under the penalty of five pounds for every offence." Which act or ordinance is still in force.

Before this year, reading the Bible in the English tongue was interdicted under very severe penalties: but at this time Henry's unsteady mind appears to have experienced another change; for we find a copy of the New Testament, printed in this year by Robert Redman, without Temple-bar, in the suburbs of London, "set forth under the kynge's moste gracious lycence."

In the year 1539, Henry VIII. having understood that there was a learned man, named John Nicolson, but who, to conceal himself from his former persecutors, had assumed the name of Lambert, a schoolmaster in London, who denied the real presence in the sacrament, to which the king was blindly devoted, thought this a favourable opportunity for him at once to exercise his supremacy, and display his learning; he therefore determined to have the glory of disputing with this reformer, who had appealed from a sentence given against him by Archbishop Cranmer. Public notice was accordingly given, that the king designed to enter the lists against Lambert; and scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall, for the accommodation of the audience, without any regard had to the injustice of thus mixing the disputant and the judge. The end of this disputation was, that Henry gave his antagonist his choice, either to recant his opinion, or to submit to the flames. Lambert nobly made choice of the latter; and the king had the mean cruelty to order him to be executed, which was inflicted upon him with the greatest rigour.

About the same time, six Dutch anabaptists suffered in like manner; three men and a woman were burnt at St. Paul's-cross, and a man and a woman in Smithfield.

King Henry having suspected the consequences of throwing off the spiritual yoke of Rome, and finding that the pope had stirred up the emperor and the French king against him, began to prepare for the worst; for which purpose he fortified the coasts of his kingdom, put his navy in thorough repair, and, by commissions to the several counties and principal cities in England, ordered all his subjects, from the age of sixteen to sixty, to be mustered. A like commission was also directed to Sir William Foreman, lord mayor of London, who immediately caused a general muster of the citizens to be held at Mile-end. This was the greatest muster ever made by the citizens of London: it consisted of three divisions of five thousand men each, exclusive of pioneers and other attendants, who marched in martial order through the city to Westminster, where they were reviewed by the king and nobility, who expressed great satisfaction at their numerous and splendid appearance.

On the 22d of October, in this year, the court of common-council made an order, that a foreigner named Paul Wythyn Pool, should have the privilege of being present at all courts of common-council and elections. This mark of distinction, which had never before been granted to any unqualified person, was conferred upon him on account of his uncommon wisdom and penetration.

The state of shipping in the port of London was still very low about this time, if we may give credit to Wheeler, who wrote in defence of the company of merchant adventurers, to whom he was secretary. In his Treatise on Commerce, published in 1601, he says, that, about sixty years before he wrote, "there were not above four ships, besides those of the royal navy, that were above one hundred and twenty tons each, within the river of Thames."

The king, having restrained the annual custom of the city watch, owing to its great expense, endeavoured to preserve the manly exercise of shooting, of which he was very fond, by granting a charter to the company of archers, who were called the fraternity of St. George; by which they had a power to use and exercise shooting at all manner of marks, as well in the city as suburbs, with long bows, cross bows, and hand guns; with this clause, That, in case any persons were shot and slain in these sports, by some arrow shot by these archers, he was not to be sued or molested, if he had, immediately before he shot, used the word, "Fast." The chieftain of these archers was called Prince Arthur, and the rest of them his knights. The principal place of exercising their sport was Mile-end, where they were frequently honoured with the presence of the king himself.

About this time the shews, which had been hitherto licensed on the Bank-side, in Southwark, were put down by the king's proclamation and sound of trumpet.

On the arrival of Anne of Cleves, Henry's new bride, she was met on Blackheath, on the 3d of January, 1540, by the Anseatic merchants, and those of Genoa, Florence, Venice, and Spain, resident in the city of London, together with a number of the principal citizens, common-councilmen, and aldermen, to the number of one hundred and sixty, richly dressed in velvet, with chains of gold, and mounted on stately horses, and accompanied by the king, divers foreign princes, the nobility, and the lord mayor, was conducted in great magnificence to the royal palace at Greenwich.

The marriage was solemnized on Twelfth-day; and on the 4th of February, being the day appointed for their majesties' removal to Westminster, the lord mayor and aldermen, in the city barge, attended by the twelve principal companies, in their respective barges, most pompously equipped, repaired to Greenwich, whence they conducted the king and queen by water to Westminster.

However Henry might have been deceived in the representations of the beauty of this princess, he does not seem to have been displeased with Cromwell, the principal adviser of the match, for some time after it, since in April following he conferred the title of Earl of Essex upon him; but this appearance of satisfaction was of short duration. On the ninth of July a sentence of divorce passed the two houses of convocation; and on the twenty-eighth of the same month, Cromwell was beheaded on Tower hill. He was accused of heresy and treason, but it is probable the accusation was unfounded, for a bill of attainder was passed against him, without trial, on the more general representations of the king's council.

Some few days after Cromwell's death, Henry gave a terrible instance of that cruelty which seemed to have taken possession of his soul: papists and reformers were alike the objects of this infernal passion, and suffered in the same flames. Dr. Barnes, who had made a figure in an embassy to the German princes, Thomas Gerard, a reforming minister, and William Jerom, vicar of Stepney, who had been, unheard, attainted of heresy by the parliament, were now condemned to the stake; but when they came there, neither they nor the sheriff knew for what they suffered. Along with them Gregory Buttolph, Adam Damplip, and Clement Philpot (all bigoted papists) were hanged, drawn, and quartered, for denying the king's supremacy. To increase the absurdity of this indiscriminate cruelty, they were drawn to the place of execution on three hurdles, a catholic and a protestant on each. This horrid scene caused a foreigner who was a spectator of it to exclaim "Good God! how unhappy are the people of this country, who are hanged for being papists, or burnt for being enemies to popery."

On the eighth of August, this year, 1540, Catharine Howard (daughter to the Lord Edmund Howard), to whom the king had been some time privately married, was publicly declared Queen of England. By this marriage the popish interest was strengthened, and that party made a strong push at Cranmer; but the king's affection for him was so unmoveable, that their endeavours proved abortive.

About this time Robert Brocke, chaplain to the king, invented the method of making leaden pipes for conveying water under ground, without using solder. Robert Cooper, a goldsmith of London, was the first who made them and put the invention in practice.

In the year 1541, much blood was shed on the scaffold, and many persons of different ranks were executed. The most illustrious of these victims was the aged Countess of Salisbury, the last of the royal race of the Plantagenets. This venerable matron had been attainted by parliament in 1539, and had been kept in prison from that time. Without regard to her sex, her age, or her royal descent, she was brought to a scaffold in the Tower, on the 27th of May, to be beheaded, where, though in her seventieth year, she behaved with great spirit and magnanimity: when she was desired to lay her head upon the block she obstinately refused, saying, "I am no traitor; I have done nothing to deserve death; if you will have my head," shaking her grey locks, "you must get it as well as you can." In consequence of this, she was rather butchered than beheaded.*

It is impossible to discover what provoked Henry to this act of cruelty: her only crime was that of having held a correspondence with her own son, Cardinal Pole. But the truth is we are much better informed of the punishments than of the crimes of many eminent persons in this reign.

An act of parliament was passed in this year for paving the following streets in London, viz. the street leading from Aldgate to Whitechapel-church; the upper part of Chancery-lane; the way leading from Holborn-bars, westward, towards St. Giles's in the Fields, as far as any habitation is on both sides of the said street; Gray's-inn-lane, Shoe-lane, and Feuter's, now Fetter-lane, the two last being thorough-fares and passages from Fleet-street into Holborn.

That part of Chancery-lane now to be paved is thus described, "From the bars beside the Rolls lately set up by the lord privy seal, unto the said highway in Holborn." All the streets directed to be paved, are said to be "very foul, and full of pits and sloughs, very perilous and noyous, as well for the king's subjects on horseback as on foot, and with carriages."

We learn, from Hakluyt, that the merchants of London and Southampton traded to the Brazils in 1540 and 1542.

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* Herbert, p. 227.

Archbishop Cranmer having prevailed on the king to grant a privilege for printing the Bible in English, the same was executed accordingly, and made its appearance about this time, under the following title: "The Bible in English, of the largest and greatest volume, used and appointed by our sovereign prince, King Henry VIII. supreme head of the church and realm of England, to be frequented and used in every church within this his said realm, according to the tenor of his former injunctions given in that behalf: overseen and perused, at the command of the king's highness, by the reverend fathers in God, Cuthbert, Bishop of Durham, and Nicholas, Bishop of Rochester. Printed by Richard Grafton, cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum, 1541."

In the year 1542, the House of Commons having sent their sergeant at arms to demand the release of George Ferras, member for Plymouth, who had been arrested at the suit of one White, for two hundred marks, the sheriffs and their officers belonging to the Compter, then situate in Bread-street, assaulted the sergeant at arms, and broke his mace; for which they were ordered to attend the house; when, after a severe reprimand for their contempt, the sheriffs and White were committed prisoners to the Tower, and the arresting officers, and four others, to Newgate, where they were confined for a considerable time, till, by the interposition of the lord mayor, and the application of many friends, they were discharged by an order of the house.

On the 12th of February, in this year, Catharine Howard, late Queen of England, and her confidant Lady Jane Rochford, were beheaded on a scaffold, erected within the Tower of London.

In the year 1543 there was a great mortality among the cattle which occasioned an enormous increase in the price of meat: in consideration whereof, the lord mayor and common-council made a sumptuary law to restrain luxurious feasting; wherein it was ordained, that the lord mayor should not have more than seven dishes at dinner or supper; the aldermen and sheriffs were limited to six, the sword-bearer to four, and the mayor's and sheriff's officers to three; upon penalty of forty shillings for every supernumerary dish.

It was likewise enacted, by the same authority, that neither the lord mayor, aldermen, nor sheriffs, should buy cranes, swans, or bustards, after the ensuing Easter, under the penalty of forty shillings for every bird so bought; but the purchaser was at liberty to clear himself by his own oath.

The parliament, which met in January of this year, resumed the consideration of the bad state of those parts of the metropolis which still remained unpaved and were become almost impassable, and made an act as follows: "Whereas, the streets named White-cross-street, Chiswell-street, Golding-lane, Grub-street, Goswell-street, Long-lane, St. John-street, from the bars of Smithfield up to the pound, at the corner of the wall extending along the highway leading up to Islington; and also the street from the said bars to Cow-cross; Water-lane, in Fleet-street, the way without Temple-bar, leading westward, by and unto Clement's-inn gates and New-inn gates, to Drewry-place, in the county of Middlesex; and also one little lane stretching from the said way to the sign of the Bell, at Drewry-lane end; and the common-way leading through a certain place called Petit-France, from the bars of the west end of Tothill-street, at Westminster, unto the uttermost part of the west end of the said place called Petit-France; Bishopsgate-street, to and above Shoreditch-church; the Strond-bridge, and the way leading from the said bridge towards Temple-bar; the lane called Foskue-lane, from the garden and tenement of the Bishop of Litchfield, and the gardens and tenement called the Bell and Proctors, down to Strond-bridge, be very foul and full of pits and sloughs, very perilous and noyous, and very necessary to be kept clean, for the avoiding of corrupt savours, and an occasion of pestilence. For the amendment and reformation whereof" they are directed to be paved with stone, and a channel made in the midst of them, at the charge of the ground landlords, " in like manner and form as the streets of the city of London be paved." And it was also enacted, " That the lord mayor, aldermen, &c. of London, shall have power to inquire into, hear, and determine the defaults of paving and reparation of streets; and that any three justices in London, whereof the mayor to be one, may set fines upon such as do not pave and repair any street or lane in London, or the liberties thereof, to be levied by distress or action, &c. by the chamberlain, to the use of the mayor and commonalty of the said city." And further it was enacted, " That the conduits of London should be made and repaired, for the better watering of the city and its liberties; and that the mayor and citizens should have power to bring water to the said conduits from Hampstead-heath, St. Mary-le-bone, Hackney, and Muswell-hill, upon their indemnifying the owners of lands for damages that might be done by the said water-courses, &c.

By another act of parliament, passed in this year, Wapping Marsh, in the county of Middlesex, is directed to be divided by certain persons assigned, or by any six of them. And Cornelius Wanderdelf, who, at his own charge, inned, inbanked, and recovered the same, being drowned, Richard Hill, of London, mercer, his assignee, shall have the one moiety thereof to him, and to his heirs, it having been before this time within the flux of the tide and the Thames.

These two acts of parliament, with that passed in 1541, will enable us to form a tolerably correct idea of the suburbs of London at this period.

On his return from Boulogne, which he had besieged and taken on the 14th of September, in this year, Henry being apprehensive of reprisals from the King of France, set about fortifying the sea-ports: and for the defence of the Thames he erected the fort at Tilbury, and a battery opposite to it at Gravesend.

The plague raged so violently in London during this year that a great number of the citizens fell victims to it, and the term was adjourned to St. Albans.

Sir John Allen, who had served the office of lord mayor, in 1535, and was honoured with the rank of a privy-councellor to Henry VIII. died this year. By his will he gave a rich collar of gold, to be worn by future lord mayors, and five hundred marks to be a stock for sea-coal; he also directed the rents of his lands, purchased of the king, to be distributed yearly to the poor in each ward for ever; besides many other liberal benefactions to the prisons, hospitals, lazarhouses, and the poor of other parts within two miles of the city. He was buried in a chapel belonging to St. Thomas of Acres, which he had built.

In the year 1545, the twelve city companies advanced the king twenty one thousand two hundred and sixty-three pounds six shillings and eight pence, upon a morgage of crown lands, towards the charges of his war with Scotland. This, however, being found insufficient, his majesty afterwards sent commissioners into the city to assess the Londoners, in an arbitrary manner, by way of benevolence. Alderman Richard Read not only objected to this illegal proceeding, but positively refused to pay the sum demanded of him; for which Henry, whose tyrannical spirit would endure no opposition, enrolled him as a foot soldier, and sent him to Scotland with the army, where he was taken prisoner, and, after undergoing very severe hardships, was obliged to pay a considerable sum for his liberty.

A proclamation, issued in this year for prohibiting "certain bookes printed of newes of the prosperous successes of the king's ma'ties arms in Scotland," carries the date of the first circulation of these vehicles of information to a much earlier period than has generally been assigned to it. Chalmers, in his life of Ruddiman, states the Gallo-Bellicum, a kind of state of Europe or Annual Register, to have been the first English one, and the Venice Gazette, which is considered as the original, was circulated in manuscript till the end of the sixteenth century, as appears from a collection of them in the Magliabechian library at Florence; these therefore appear to have been the first printed newspapers ever circulated.

The proclamation states that "the king's most excellent majestie understanding that certain light persones, not regarding what they reported, wrote, or set forthe, had caused to be imprinted and divulged, certain newes of the prosperous successes of the king's majestie's army in Scotland, wherein, although the effect of the victory was indeed true, yet the circumstances in divers points were in some past over slenderly, in some parte untruly and amisse reported; his highness, therefore, not content to have anie such matters of so greate importance sett forthe to the slaunder of his captaines and ministers, nor to be otherwise reported than the truth was straightlie chargeth and commandeth all manner of persones into whose hands anie of the said printed books should come ymediately after they should hear of this proclamation, to bring the same bookes to the lord maior of London, or to the recorder, or some of the aldermen of the same, to thintent that they might suppresse and burn them, upon pain that every person keeping anie of the said bookes XXIIII hours after the making of this proclamation, should suffer ymprisonment of his bodye, and be farther punished at the king's majestie's will and pleasure."

This year the parliament passed an act, in which it was ordained, that every citizen and inhabitant within the city and liberty thereof should, for every ten shillings annual rent, pay to the vicars of their respective parishes, one shilling and four pence; and for every rent of twenty shillings, two shillings and nine pence, and so on in proportion as the rents advanced. It was also enacted, that every person possessed of four hundred marks in real and personal estate, was properly qualified to serve on the grand jury.

In the month of August, this year, the citizens of London, at their own expense, raised and completely fitted out a regiment of foot, consisting of one thousand men, as a reinforcement to the army in France.

Stow says* "In the year 1546 the 27th of April, being Tuesday in Easter week, W. Foxley, pot maker for the mint in the tower of London, fell asleep, and so continued sleeping, and could not be awakened with pricking, cramping, or otherwise burning whatsoever, till the first day of the next term, which was full fourteen days and fifteen nights, for that Easter term beginneth not afore seventeen days after Easter. The cause of his thus sleeping could not be known, though the same were diligently searched for by the king's physicians and other learned men, yea the king himself examined the said W. Foxley, who was in all points found at his wakening to be as if he had slept but one night; and he lived more than forty years after in the said tower, to wit, until the year of Christ, 1587, and then deceased on Wednesday in Easter week."

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* Survaie 1603, p. 59.

A peace being concluded between England and France, the same was proclaimed in the city with great solemnity, on Whitsunday, 1546. On this occasion a grand procession was made from St. Paul's church to Leadenhall, and back again. It consisted of a number of men carrying the parochial silver crosses, followed by the parish clerks, choristers and priests in London, together with the choir of St. Paul's in their richest copes, followed by the different companies of the city in their liveries; and the procession was closed by the lord mayor and aldermen dressed in their scarlet robes.

Several persons suffered this year on account of their principles in religion; among whom was Mrs. Anne Askew, or Ascue, a gentlewoman of good birth and excellent parts, who was well known to many persons at court. This lady, being convicted of denying the real presence in the sacrament, was condemned to the flames, and chose to suffer death, rather than purchase pardon at the expense of abjuring her faith. The lord chancellor, who was a zealous papist, imagining that her resolution proceeded from the encouragement given her by persons of distinction about the court, who were friends to the reformation, caused this poor woman to be put to the rack in prison, though already under sentence of death; and is even said to have assisted with his own hands, in administering the torture, which was done in such a merciless manner, that almost all her bones were dislocated. This she bore, however, with amazing fortitude; nor could they extort a syllable from her in accusation of any one. At length on the 16th of July she was conveyed to the stake, and suffered with four men, condemned on the same account: Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, who had been imprisoned for the same offence, but saved his life by recanting, attended them to the place of execution, where he preached a sermon, reproaching them in the harshest terms for their obstinacy and heresy.

On the 21st of August, Claud Annebaut ambassador extraordinary of France, arrived at London from Dieppe, and landed at the tower wharf, where he was met by the mayor, aldermen, and citizens, and conducted to the bishop's palace: and on his departure, after having sworn, in the name of his sovereign, to perform the articles of the peace, he was presented by the city with four large silver flagons richly gilt, valued at one hundred and thirty six pounds, besides wine and other costly presents.

Towards the end of the year the Duke of Norfolk, and his son the Earl of Surrey, were committed to the Tower, charged with treason, and on the 13th of January, 1457, the earl was brought to trial at Guildhall, before the lord mayor, and a common jury, by whom he was found guilty, and received sentence of death: he was beheaded on Tower hill, on the nineteenth of January. His father being a peer, the proceedings against him were obliged to wait the determination of parliament, by whom he was attainted; and the warrant for his execution was signed, but the king's death, which happened on the 28th of January, rendered it of no force, and it was not thought adviseable that the commencement of the young king's reign should be followed immediately by the execution of the first nobleman of the land; for which reason his life was spared, but he remained in confinement during all this reign.

King Henry VIII. having dissolved the priory and old hospital of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, he, a short time before his death, founded it anew, and endowed it with the annual revenue of five hundred marks, on condition that the city should pay an equal sum. The proposal being accepted, the new foundation was incorporated by the name of "The hospital of the mayor, commonalty, and citizens of London, governors for the poor, called Little St. Bartholomew's, near West Smithfield."

CHAP. XXVII.

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The first Act of Edward's Power exercised in Knighting the Lord Mayor.—St. Paul's Rood pulled down.—March of the City Watch revived.—Tumult in Whitehall Chapel.—Price of Provisions.—Influx of Foreign Manufactures.—Deputation from the City to the King relative to the Mal-administration of the Protector.—House Rents.—Foreign Commerce extended.—Prices of Cattle fixed.—Dearth.—Manor of Southwark granted to the City.—Sweating Sickness.—Steel-yard Society Suppressed—Foundation of St. Thomas's, Christ's, and Bridewell Hospitals.—Death of Edward.—Proclamation of Lady Jane Grey, and afterwards of Mary.—The Queen's public Entry.—Riot at St. Paul's—Loan.—Sir Thomas Wyat's Rebellion.—Persecution.—Sumptuary Act of Common-council.—Wood-street Compter erected.—London Traders settled at the Canaries.—Scarcity of Corn.—Great Mortality.—Manufacture of Glass.—Fluctuations in the Price of Corn.—Loan.—Great Sickness.

Edward VI. who succeeded to the crown by the demise of his father, was only in the ninth year of his age at his accession to the dominion of England: it was therefore necessary to choose a protector who might exercise the regal power during his minority, to which high station the Earl of Hertford, the king's maternal uncle, was chosen, and soon after created Duke of Somerset.

On the sixth of February the lord-protecter commenced the exercise of his high office, by knighting the young king, in the presence of the lord mayor and many other lords and gentlemen: immediately after which, the king standing under his canopy of state, took the sword from the lord-protector, and conferred the honour of knighthood on Henry Hoblethorn, the lord mayor; which was the first act of sovereignty done by him.

In this year, according to Howell, in his Londinopolis, the price of Malmsey wine, the only sweet wine then imported, and that by the Lombards alone, was but three halfpence the pint: for which he quotes the churchwarden's accounts of St Andrew Undershaft, from which it appears that they had "paid ten shillings for eighty pints of Malmsey, spent in the church."

From the accession of Edward, the reformation, which in his father's life-time was a monstrous medley of protestantism and catholicism, proceeded with calm and steady steps. In the Easter-week of this year the church service began to be read in English, in the king's chapel; and in September, commissioners were assembled in St. Paul's church to reform the superstitions of the old worship, among which the adoration of images held a prominent place; these were ordered to be taken out of the churches, which order was carried into effect in London, in November, by pulling down the rood in St. Paul's cathedral, with all the pictures and statues of saints in the different churches, and supplying their places with texts of scripture calculated to show the fallacy of image-worship. In addition to this, the parliament passed an act for permitting the laity to receive the sacrament in both kinds; the statutes against the Lollards and heresies were repealed; private masses were abolished; and bishops were to be elected by letters patent from the king, and to hold their courts in his name.

The combinations and conspiracies which were daily concerted by the journeymen and labourers, being found very detrimental to trade, the parliament, among other things enacted, "That, if any artificers, workmen, or labourers, do conspire, convenant, or promise together, that they shall not make or do their work but at a certain price or rate, or shall not enterprise or take upon them to finish that work which another hath begun, or shall do but a certain work in a day, or shall not work but at certain hours or times; that then every person so conspiring, convenanting, or offending, being thereof convicted by witnesses, confession, or otherwise, shall forfeit, for the first offence, ten pounds, or have twenty days imprisonment: for the second offence, twenty pounds, or pillory; and for a third offence, forty pounds, or to sit on the pillory, and have one ear cut off, besides being rendered infamous, and incapable of giving evidence upon oath." In this act are included butchers, bakers, brewers, poulterers, cooks, &c. And all justices of the peace, mayors, bailiffs, &c. in their sessions, leets, and courts, have full power and authority to inquire, hear, and determine, all and singular the offences against this statute, and to cause offenders to be punished.

In the year 1548 the march of the city watch, which had been discontinued by command of King Henry VIII. was revived by Sir John Gresham the mayor. The procession received an additional splendor from three hundred light horsemen, which had been raised by the citizens for the service of the king.

On St. Peter's day, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, a zealous catholic, preached before the king, at Whitehall. He had been warned not to speak of controversial subjects, and the answer he gave was moderate and satisfactory. But when in the pulpit, he forgot his promises, and warmly supported the real presence in the sacrament. The effect of this ill-judged conduct was grossly indecent. Each party, although in the church, and before the king, cried out aloud, and with vehemence to support or to insult the preacher; and, on his leaving the pulpit, the impolite orator was taken to prison.

London was again visited by the plague, in the month of July of this year, which carried off a great number of its inhabitants.

From Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, we learn, that, in this year, wheat sold at six shillings and eight pence per quarter; barley, malt, and rye, at five shillings; and pease and beans, at four shillings. And, by an act of parliament for regulating the purveyors of the king's household, the rate of post-horses is fixed at one penny per mile.

In the year 1549, at the instigation of Archbishop Cranmer, encouragement was given to persecuted foreign protestants, to come over and settle in England, where they were allowed the free exercise of their religion; and, in return, enriched the nation by the manufactures they brought with them. They settled principally in London, Southwark, Canterbury, and other great towns in that part of the country.

The protector (the Duke of Somerset) having been guilty of some acts of imprudence, his enemies took the advantage of it, and several of the members of the council entered into a cabal against his person. They met at Ely-house, and taking the whole authority into their own hands, acted independent of him. They sent injunctions to the magistrates of London, and the lieutenant of the Tower, to obey no orders from the protector, but to keep the city and Tower in a state of defence, and at the same time demanded a supply of five hundred men. The magistrates so far agreed with their request as to order the several companies to mount guard alternately, but would not proceed any farther without consulting the common-council; for which purpose they were summoned by the lord mayor to attend next day at Guildhall.

The protector, who was at this time with the king at Hampton-court, receiving advice of these proceedings, was so intimidated, that he retired with his majesty to Windsor, and began strongly to fortify the castle.

The common-council, meeting at the appointed time, a letter was produced from his majesty to the city, wherein he demanded five hundred men, completely armed, to be immediately sent to Windsor. Robert Brook, the recorder, opposed this, and, on the contrary, earnestly requested them to supply the lords with that number, as it would enable them to bring the protector to an account, and thereby redress the grievances of the people. He was heard by the court with great attention, but was interrupted by George Stadlow, a member of the common-council, who, after a very elaborate harangue, in which he recited the bad consequences of the city's joining the barons against King Henry III. concluded thus: "Wherefore, as this aid is required of the king's majesty, it is our duty to hearken thereto, for he is our high shepherd, rather than unto the lords; and yet I should not wish the lords to be clearly shaken off; but they with us and we with them may join in suit, and make our most humble petition to the king's majesty, that it would please his majesty to hear such complaint against the government of the lord-protector, as may be justly alleged and proved; that neither shall the king, nor yet the lords, have cause to seek for further aid, neither we to offend any of them."

In consequence of this speech, the court broke up without coming to any determination. The next day the lord mayor and aldermen held a conference in the Star-chamber, and it was resolved that Sir Philip Hobby should be dispatched with a letter of credence to his majesty, imploring him to permit the said Sir Philip to deliver their message, and to credit what he should declare in their names. Sir Philip accordingly waited on his majesty at Windsor, and delivered his business with such propriety to the king, in the presence of the protector, that his majesty commanded Somerset immediately to withdraw, and soon after committed him prisoner to Beauchamp's Tower, in Windsor Castle, from whence he was conducted, on the following day, to the Tower of London.

The Earl of Warwick, who had taken the lead in depriving the protector of his power, retained the chief management of public affairs for some time; but Somerset was at length restored to liberty, and took his place again at the council. The fine which he was to have paid for his misconduct was also remitted by the king.

House-rents must have been very low at this time; for Archbishop Nicholson, in his Historical Library, says, "a house, in the very precincts of King Edward VI.'s court, in Channel-row, Westminster, was let to no less a person than the comptroller of that king's household, for the yearly rent of thirty shillings."

In the year 1550, the Thames at London-bridge was observed to ebb and flow three times within nine hours, occasioned by a strong easterly wind repelling the ebb before it could perform its natural course.

In this year a Captain Bodenham made a trading voyage from London to the isles of Candia and Chios, in the Levant, from whence he loaded home with wines, &c. and returned in the following year.

The first parliament in Edward's reign having given all the lands and possessions of colleges, chantries, &c. to the king, the different companies of London redeemed those which they had held for the payment of priests' wages, obits, and lights, at the price of twenty thousand pounds, and applied the rents arising from them to charitable purposes.

The butchers of London having greatly enhanced the price of meat, owing to a combination between the graziers and salesmen, the king and council, to restrain the like imposition for the future, fixed the prices of cattle sold in the different seasons, in the following manner :

From Midsummer to Michaelmas.	L.	S.	D.
The best fat ox, to be sold at - -	2	5	0
The best steers and runts - -	1	5	0
The best heifers and kine - - -	1	2	0
From Hollowmas to Christmas.			
The best fat ox - - -	2	6	8
The best steers and runts - - -	1	6	8
The best heifers and kine - -	1	3	0
From Christmas to Shrovetide.			
The best fat ox - - -	2	8	4
The best steers and runts - - -	1	8	4
From Shearing-time to Michaelmas.			
The best fat weather at - - -	0	4	4
If shorn - - -	0	3	0
The best fat ewe - - -	0	2	6
If shorn - - -	0	2	0
From Michaelmas to Shrovetide.			
The best fat weather - -	0	4	4
If shorn - - -	0	3	0

A great dearth happening the same year, the following prices of provisions were also fixed by the king and council :

	S.	D.
White Wheat, the quarter, at - -	13	0
Red ditto - - -	11	0
All other sorts of ditto - -	8	0
The best malt, the quarter - -	10	0
Second sort ditto - - -	8	0

The

	S.	D.
The best barley, the quarter - -	9	0
Second sort - - - -	7	0
The best rye, the quarter - -	7	0
Second sort - - -	6	0
The best beans and peas, the quarter -	5	0
Second sort ditto - - -	3	0
Oats, the quarter - - -	4	0
The best sweet butter, the pound, at -	0	1
Essex barrelled butter, the pound - -	0	0¾
All sorts of other barrelled butter -	0	0½
Essex cheese, the pound, at - -	0	0¾
All other sorts of ditto - -	0	0½

A charter was purchased of the king in this year for the sum of six hundred and forty-seven pounds two shillings and a penny, by which the king granted to the city of London, the manor of Southwark and its appurtenances, with divers lands and tenements therein; and also the assize of bread, wine, beer and ale; a fair for three days; and the offices of coroner, escheator, and clerk of the market, which are vested in the lord mayor and his successors for ever.

On St. Barnaby's day, according to Howes's Chronicle, the high altar at St. Paul's church was pulled down, and a table placed where the altar stood, with a vail drawn beneath, and steps; and, on the next Sunday, a communion was sung at the same table; and, shortly after, all the altars in London were taken down, and tables placed in their rooms.

In 1551, the sweating sickness broke out again in London, and carried off a great number of people: "eight hundred," says the above chronicler, "died in the first week: seven honest householders did sup together, and before eight of the clock in the next morning, six of them were dead!"

The king, being greatly distressed for money, had recourse to the bank of Anthony Fugger and company of Antwerp, of whom he borrowed a large sum of money, and as a security for the payment, the corporation of London were bound jointly with him, and Edward gave a recognizance to Sir Andrew Jud, the mayor, to indemnify the city.

In consequence of an act of common-council passed this year, a postern gate was made in the wall on the north side of the dissolved cloister of the Grey Friars, now Christ's Hospital, to pass through to the hospital of St. Bartholomew.

The time was at length come that the eyes of the English nation were to be opened to the immense injury sustained by permitting the German merchants of the Steel-yard to enjoy such advantages in the duty on the exportation of English cloths, which now began to be more generally seen and felt, as the foreign commerce of England became more diffused.

In 1552 the privy council, upon the pressing remonstrances of the English merchant-adventurers, inquired into the injuries sustained by native traders in consequence of their immunities, and after mature consideration determined that their privileges, liberties, and franchises, should be resumed by the king; allowing them, however, the liberty of traffic in as ample a manner as any merchant-strangers have it. The difference in the duty, being twenty per cent instead of one per cent, their ancient duty, had such an effect, that, according to Wheeler's Treatise of Commerce, our own merchants in this year shipped forty thousand cloths for Flanders.

The tumultuous and unsettled disposition of the people, which was also greatly increased by the difference on religious subjects, gave rise to a statute in this year for regulating the number of taverns and wine vaults. Its preamble states that it was enacted for the avoiding of many inconveniences, much evil rule, and common resort to mis-ruled persons, used and frequented in many taverns of late newly set up, in back lanes, corners, and suspicious places, both in London and other towns and villages."

By it the prices of wines are fixed thus: Gascony and Guienne wines at eight pence per gallon; Rochelle wines at four pence; and no other sorts of wine to be sold higher than twelve pence per gallon, on forfeiture of five pounds. No taverns are to be kept for retailing wines, unless licenced, and the number of them is not to exceed forty in London and three in Westminster: and no wine to be drank in any of these taverns.

The citizens of London having purchased of the king the manor of Southwark, with all its appurtenances, they became possessed of an hospital dedicated to St. Thomas the Apostle; which being greatly decayed, they repaired and enlarged the same at a considerable expense, for the reception of poor, sick, and helpless objects. The king incorporated the lord mayor, commonalty, and citizens of London, governors of the hospital, together with those of Christ and Bridewell.

King Edward VI. also, but a short time before his death, founded Christ's Hospital in the Grey-friar's convent, for the relief and education of young and helpless children; and incorporated the governors by the title of "The mayor, commonalty, and citizens of the city of London, governors of the possessions, revenues, and goods, of the hospitals of Edward VI. King of England, &c." He also gave the old palace of Bridewell to the city for the lodging of poor way-faring people, the correction of vagabonds and disorderly persons, and for finding them work.

The city having appointed Christ's Hospital for the education of poor children, and St. Thomas's, in Southwark, for the maimed and diseased, the king formed these charitable foundations into a corporation: as appears by a charter granted for that purpose, wherein it is declared as follows:

> "And, that our intention may take the better effect, and that the lands, revenues, and other things granted for the support of the said hospitals, houses, and poor people, may be the better governed, for the establishment of the same, We do will and ordain, that the hospitals aforesaid, when they shall be so founded, erected, and established, shall be named, called, and stiled, The Hospitals of Edward VI. of England, of Christ, Bridewell, and St. Thomas the Apostle; and that the aforesaid mayor, commonalty, and citizens of London, and their successors, shall be stiled, the governors of the said hospitals of Bridewell, Christ, and St. Thomas the Apostle; and that the same governors, in deed, and in fact, and in name, shall be hereafter one body corporate and politic of themselves for ever. And we will that the same governors shall have perpetual succession."

On the sixth of July, 1553, Edward VI. died at Greenwich, and was buried in the chapel of his grandfather, at Westminster, with great funeral pomp, and the unfeigned mournings of an affectionate people.

During his illness, his crafty adviser Northumberland had persuaded him to make a will, setting aside his sisters Mary and Elizabeth, and leaving the crown to lady Jane Grey, on pretence that this was necessary for the quiet of his people, and the security of their newly adopted religion. But sensible that it could not be carried into effect, without the co-operation of the city of London, he concealed the king's death for some days; and on the 8th of July, the lord mayor received an order to attend the council at Greenwich, and to bring with him six aldermen, six merchants of the staple, and as many merchant-adventurers, to whom, under an oath of secrecy, the death of the king was communicated, and also the choice he had made of a successor.

Accordingly, on the tenth, Lady Jane was received into the Tower of London as queen, and in the afternoon, proclamation was made through the city of the death of King Edward VI. and that he had ordained by letters patent, that the Lady Jane should be heir to the crown of England.

Some preparations were made for supporting this nomination by force of arms, but it being found that the sense of the nation was against disturbing the succession, the council met at Baynard's Castle on the 19th of July, from whence, having consulted the lord mayor, aldermen, and recorder, they all proceeded in cavalcade to Cheapside, where they proclaimed the princess Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. Queen of England; after which they returned in the same order to St. Paul's cathedral, where Te Deum was sung.

On the third of August, the queen made her public entry into London, preceded by the lord mayor in a crimson velvet gown, carrying a golden sceptre in his hand. A stage was erected without Aldgate, on which stood the poor children of Christ's hospital, one of whom made an oration.

At her accession to the crown, Mary had promised those who supported her rights, that she would force no man's conscience in point of religion; but a short time was sufficient to show that her word was of no value. The first instance of her implacable

placable bigotry was manifested on the following occasion. A canon of St. Paul's, named Bourne, chaplain to Bonner, now restored to the see of London, preaching at that cathedral on the 13th of August, took that opportunity to cast some harsh reflections on the deceased Edward. This the spirit of the Londoners could not brook: they hissed the imprudent orator, pelted him with brick-bats and stones, and one of them threw a dagger at him, with so good an aim, that it stuck into the pulpit behind him. The terrified preacher saved his life by stooping, but remained in extreme danger, until he was relieved by the exertions of two popular protestant preachers, Rogers and Bradford, the latter of whom entering the pulpit exhorted the audience to quietness and obedience; but finding arguments ineffectual, they, with great difficulty, escorted Bourne into St. Paul's school.

Soon after this disturbance, a proclamation was issued by the queen, in which the promise of toleration was renewed, but with this proviso, "until public order shall be taken in it by common consent;" and it finished by prohibiting "Preaching or writing without a special license for the same." This was followed by the ungrateful and most undeserved imprisonment and subsequent martyrdom* of Rogers and Bradford, who had hazarded their persons to save the life of Bourne, "They could repress the rage of the populace in a moment," said the queen; "doubtless they set it on".

The first of September, says Howes, the queen demanded a prest (loan) of the city of London, of twenty thousand pounds, to be repaid again within

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* Rogers was the first who suffered on account of religion, in this reign. He was burnt in Smithfield, on the 4th of February, 1555. Bradford survived him only till the first of July following, when he suffered the same death in the same place.

fourteen

fourteen days after Michaelmas next following; which sum was levied of the aldermen, and one hundred and twenty commoners.

On the last day of that month, the queen rode in great state from the Tower to Westminster; on which occasion, many stately pageants were erected, the conduits ran with wine, and she was every where received with such respect by the citizens, that, on her alighting at Whitehall, she gave the lord mayor her thanks. On the following day, she was crowned with the greatest magnificence; the lord mayor, assisted by twelve of the citizens, officiating as chief butler; for which service the mayor received a gold cup and cover, weighing seventeen ounces, for his fee.

The proposed marriage between Mary and Philip of Spain, was announced to the council in the beginning of 1554; and the day after, the lord mayor and aldermen were sent for to attend the court, and to bring with them forty of the principal commoners, to whom the lord chancellor declared the queen's intention, requiring them to behave like good subjects on the occasion.

As soon as this intention was made public, the nation took the alarm, and its discontent was expressed so openly, that the government thought it necessary to provide against the probable consequences of the ferment. Nor were these precautions useless, for in a very short time intelligence arrived from several counties that the people had taken up arms. In this conjuncture the privy council ordered the lord mayor to exert himself for the preservation of the peace in the city, and, upon advice that Sir Thomas Wyat was in arms, in Kent, they directed that the city should be put in a posture of defence.

In compliance with this command, the citizens not only placed a strong guard at every gate of the city, but raised five hundred men to march against Wyat: this they did with such expedition, that in two days after they were sent down to Gravesend under the command of Alexander Bret, an experienced officer; where they were joined by the Duke of Norfolk, and with him marched to Rochester, at which place Wyat was, and had fortified the bridge. He and his men were offered a general pardon on their submission; but this not being complied with, the duke advanced to attack him. On which Captain Bret, who commanded the Londoners, drew his sword, and addressed the men in the following words: "Gentlemen, nothing can be more barbarous and unjust than for us to fight against our friends and countrymen; especially considering that they are engaged in defence of the rights and liberties of our dear country, in opposition to the proud and imperious Spaniards, from whom, if the intended match succeeds, we can expect no other than to become their slaves. Therefore, as that worthy patriot, Sir Thomas Wyat, has laudably undertaken to protect and prevent us from being imposed upon by those lordly foreigners, I am humbly of opinion, that, instead of opposing, we ought, in duty to our country, to join him, for the more easily obtaining so salutary an end."

The Londoners were so highly pleased with this speech, that they not only cried out, a Wyat, a Wyat; but effectually turned their ordnance against the queen's forces, insomuch that they were obliged to retreat so precipitately as to leave their ammunition and ordnance to be a prey to Wyat, who marched the next day to Deptford in his way to London.

The citizens were so alarmed on this near approach, and the court thrown into such confusion, that even the judges and counsellors sat and pleaded in armour.

In this state of affairs her majesty repaired to Guildhall, attended by the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, where she harangued them in a long and soothing speech, in which she accused Wyat and his adherents of seeking nothing less than the total subversion of all good government: she insisted on her right to the crown, and declared she was wedded to the realm and to the laws of the country, which she loved as affectionately as a mother doth her children. She said she had no desire to marry any man, much less a prince who might hereafter be detrimental to the welfare of her subjects. That notwithstanding a match had been proposed, by her council, with the King of Spain, yet she was determined not to listen thereto without the concurrence of the parliament; and concluded with exhorting them to stand fast against these rebels. She knew that Wyat had many friends in London, and therefore put the care of the city into the hands of the mayor and Lord Howard.

On the 3d day of February, Wyat and his army arrived in Southwark, when he was joyfully received, and supplied with all necessaries for his men. His intentions were to march into the city; but these were frustrated by the gates being shut, and the draw-bridge cut down. He then marched to Kingston, in order to pass the river, that he might attack them on the land side; but the bridge was broke, and the opposite shore guarded by two hundred men. These he soon drove away with his ordnance, and ordered some sailors, who were under his command, to wade the river, and bring the barges that were moored on the other side; with which he so expeditiously repaired the bridge, that he was able to pass his army over it the night after. Having had the promise of his friends in London to join him, and to admit him into the city at a certain hour, he continued his march, with an intention to reach Whitehall the next morning by break of day. This scheme was rendered abortive by the carriage of one of his guns breaking at Turnham-green, where he was obliged to halt. The time he stopped there proved his destruction; for he lost the opportunity of joining his friends in London, who had promised to admit him into the city. This disappointment occasioned Harper, who had been very instrumental in bringing over Bret and his Londoners, to desert him; after which he discovered the whole design of Wyat to the court. The example set by Harper was followed by many others; insomuch that, in a few hours, he found himself forsaken by near one half of his army. Notwithstanding this, he continued his march, and, with the remains of his forces, arrived at St. James's. He there mounted his artillery on an eminence, and, having detached two companies, under the command of Cudbert Vaughan, to Westminster, left the principal part of his army with the artillery, and at the head of five companies only, hastened away for London. At Charing-cross, he was attacked by Sir John Gage, with a superior force, whom he not only repulsed, but obliged him to take shelter in the palace of Whitehall, where he left him, and continued his march towards the city. In his way thither the Earl of Pembroke, with his cavalry, harassed his rear, and cut off several of his men; and, when he arrived at Ludgate, instead of the easy entrance he expected, he found the gate shut, and Lord Howard, who commanded within, scoffed at, and reproached him.

Thus circumstanced, and surrounded by enemies, who continued to assemble from every quarter, he attempted to retreat; but Pembroke's horse intercepted his return to Temple-bar. His men would have fought their way, but at that instant Clarencieux, king at arms, arrived from the queen with a promise of pardon for him and his men, if they would lay down their arms. Trusting to this, he surrendered to Sir Maurice Berkeley; but the promised mercy was with-held, and Wyat was shortly after executed on Tower-hill: his head was stuck upon the gallows at Hay-hill, near Hyde-park, and his quarters hung up in different parts of the city.

A dreadful scene of persecution followed the suppression of this revolt; much blood was shed upon the scaffold; and so determined were the queen and her advisers that none of their victims should escape, that the jurors on the trial of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who was tried at Guildhall, on the 17th of April, having acquitted the prisoner, they were commanded to appear before the council, and fined five hundred pounds each.

The parliament having confirmed the articles of marriage between the queen and Philip II. of Spain, that prince arrived at Southampton on the 19th of July. The queen had set out on a progress to the west, that she might meet her bridegroom at Winchester, where she intended to be married, and where the ceremony was accordingly performed, with great magnificence, on the 25th of the same month. On the 18th of August following, the king and queen made their public entry into London; on which occasion the city was sumptuously adorned, and embellished with a great number of stately pageants; nor was any expense spared by the citizens to testify their attachment to the royal pair.

The sumptuous and extravagant manner of living of the city magistrates had gradually risen to such a height, that many of the principal citizens retired from the city, rather than incur the enormous expense of serving the city offices. To remedy this growing evil, an act of common-council was passed in this year, whereby it was enacted, That thenceforth the mayor should have but one course either at dinner or supper; and that, on a festival, being a flesh-day, to consist of no more than seven dishes, whether hot or cold; and on every festival, being a fish day, eight dishes; and on every common flesh day, six dishes; and on every common day, seven dishes, exclusive of brawn, collops with eggs, sallads, pottage, butter, cheese, eggs, herrings, sprats, shrimps, and all sorts of shell-fish and fruits.—That the aldermen and sheriffs should have one dish less than the above-mentioned; and all the city companies, at their several entertainments, to have the same number of dishes as the aldermen and sheriffs; but with this restriction, to have neither swan, crane, or bustard, upon the penalty of 40s.—That all the serjeants and officers belonging to the mayor or sheriffs, on flesh days, to have three, on fish days, four dishes. But, when any foreign ministers or privy counsellors are invited to any of the city entertainments, then the regulations or additions to be left to the discretion of the mayor: provided always, that no other entertainment be given after dinner, except ipocras and wafers. And the annual feasts, on the three days after *Whitsunday* and *Bartholomew-tide*, were entirely laid aside.

It was also enacted, in consideration of the great annual expense of the mayor and sheriffs, in providing a sumptuous entertainment at Guildhall, on lord mayor's days, for the honour of the city, that every subsequent mayor should be paid one hundred pounds, out of the chamber of the city, in alleviation of that charge.

The keeper of Bread-street Compter, having not only ill-treated his prisoners, but also converted his prison into a receptacle for thieves and dissolute women, a large and convenient building was erected in Wood-street, at the expense of the corporation, for the reception of debtors and others, in the year 1555, and the prisoners were removed from Bread-street Compter into it on Michaelmas eve.

The citizens of London, being still greatly injured by the encroachments of foreigners on their respective professions, applied to the lord mayor and commonalty for further relief; when an act of common-council was passed, in which it was ordained, "That thenceforth no citizen should presume to employ any foreigner in any manner of business, exclusive of felt-makers, cap-thickers, carders, spinners, knitters, and brewers, upon penalty of five pounds for every offence; and all offenders, upon conviction, refusing to pay, to be committed to prison, without bail or mainprize, till such fines were paid.

In the third volume of Hakluyt's Voyages, we find that an Englishman, named Thomson, making a voyage from Cadiz to New Spain, touched at the Canaries, in this year, and found the factors of some London merchants already settled there. This is the first mention of a commercial intercourse between London and these islands.

There was a great scarcity of corn in this year, which raised the price of wheat to fourteen shillings the quarter; and, on the 30th of September, the water of the Thames was so much raised by the great land floods, and a strong easterly wind, that boats were rowed as far as King-street, in Westminster, and passengers were conveyed from Newington Church to the Pinfold, near St. George's, in Southwark, in wherries.

A raging fever prevailed in London, from the end of 1555 to the autumn of 1556, which carried off great numbers of people. Seven aldermen fell victims to its ravages within ten months.

In the year 1556, Alderman Draper, of Cordwainer's-ward, first instituted the office of bellman, whose business was, to go about the ward by night, and ringing his bell at certain places, exhort the inhabitants, with an audible voice, to take care of their fires and lights, to help the poor, and to pray for the dead. This institution was soon after adopted in all the other wards of the city.

According to the author of the Present State of England, printed in 1683, it was in the year 1557, that glasses were first begun to be made in England. The finer sort was made in the place called Crutched-friars, in London; and the fine flint glass, little inferior to that of Venice, was first made in the Savoy-house, in the Strand.

This was a year both of dearth and plenty. Before harvest, wheat was sold at two pounds thirteen shillings and four pence the quarter, malt at two pounds four shillings, beans and rye two pounds, and pease two pounds six shillings and eight pence the quarter; but after harvest, wheat was sold at five shillings, malt at six shillings and eight pence, and rye at three shillings and four pence the quarter; "so that," says Howes, "the penny wheat loaf, that weighed in London, the last year, but eleven ounces troy, weighed now fifty-six ounces troy, according to the assize set down by the mayor at the time."

According to the same author, the Michaelmas term of this year did not produce a single cause, in either of the courts of King's Bench or Common Pleas.

In March, 1558, the queen borrowed twenty thousand pounds of the city companies, on the security of certain lands; and allowed them twelve per cent. interest for it.

Agues were so prevalent in this year, that when harvest-time arrived, the grain was lost for want of hands to gather it: in consequence of this, corn rose to fourteen shillings a quarter, and fuel was so scarce in London, that wood was sold at the rate of thirteen or fourteen shillings the thousand of billets, and coals for ten pence the sack, for lack of help and carriage.

CHAP. XXVIII.

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Accession of Elizabeth.—Muster of the Citizens.—Story of Osborne.—Merchant-Taylors'-School.—Scarcity—St. Paul's Steeple burnt.—Plague.—Knives made in London.—Incorporation of the Merchant-Adventurers.—City Watch.

On the death of Queen Mary, which took place at St. James's, on the 17th of November, 1558, her sister, the Princess Elizabeth, was proclaimed queen in London, with the usual formalities, and with greater public demonstrations of joy, than had ever been witnessed on any similar occasion.

At the time of her sister's death, Elizabeth was at Hatfield, in Hertfordshire, from whence she repaired the next day to London, and was met at Highgate by the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, who conducted her majesty to the Tower of London with great pomp.

On the 14th day of January, 1559, the queen rode in grand procession through the city of London to Westminster, amidst the acclamations of an infinite number of people. At the west end of Cheapside, the recorder addressed her majesty in an affectionate speech, and at the same time presented her, in the name of the citizens, with a velvet purse, richly embroidered, containing one thousand marks of gold. Her majesty thanked the citizens for this token of their affection, promised to continue their good and gracious sovereign, and that she would not hesitate to spare her blood for their protection. But nothing endeared their new sovereign more to them, than her acceptance of an English Bible, richly gilt; which was let down from a pageant in

Cheapside, by a child representing Truth. The queen received the book with both her hands, and, having kissed it, laid it to her breast, and assured the city, that she esteemed that gift more than all the sumptuous presents they had made her. The next day, the queen was crowned in Westminster Abbey.

Her majesty now resumed that work of reformation which had been begun by her father, and supported by her brother Edward VI. On the first Sunday after her accession to the throne, by virtue of a proclamation for that purpose, the English liturgy was read in all churches throughout the city of London; and the epistle and gospel for the day was begun to be read at mass-time in the English tongue. The citizens encouraged her majesty to persevere in this great work, by exhibiting a specimen of the strength and forces they could raise in a case of emergency; for, on the 2d of July, the twelve principal corporations of London sent out twelve companies, consisting of fourteen hundred men, to be mustered in Greenwich-park before the queen; eight hundred of whom were pikemen in bright armour, four hundred harquebusses, in coats of mail and helmets, and two hundred halberdiers, in German rivets: these were accompanied by twenty-eight whifflers (drums and fifes), richly dressed, and led by the twelve principal wardens of the aforesaid companies, well mounted and dressed in black velvet, with six ensigns in white sattin, furred with black sarsnet, and rich scarves.

This year died Sir William Hewet, the lord mayor, who was a clothworker, and possessed of six thousand pounds per annum. He had three sons and one daughter. The following remarkable story of his daughter is still represented in a painting, carefully preserved in the noble family of the Duke of

Leeds. Sir William, her father, lived at this time on London-bridge; and as the maid-servant was diverting the infant on the edge of an open window, it accidentally slipped out of her hands, and fell into the Thames. An apprentice of Sir William's, whose name was Osborne, and one of the ancestors of the Duke of Leeds, in a direct line, seeing the child drop, immediately jumped out of the shop-window into the river, and, to the great joy of its parents, brought it out unhurt. When she arrived at the age of maturity she had many suitors, among whom was the Earl of Shrewsbury; but Sir William, her father, rejected all their advantageous proposals, and gratefully betrothed her, with a very large fortune, to him who had saved her life at the risque of his own; declaring that, as Osborne had saved her, Osborne should have her.

Richard Hills, a merchant-taylor, in the year 1560, gave five hundred pounds for the purchase of a house, called the Manor of the Rose, in which the merchant-taylors founded their free-school: he also purchased a plot of ground and some cottages, on Tower-hill, where he built alms-houses for fourteen old women; which he vested in the same company.

In the year 1561, there was such a scarcity of grain of all sorts, that Sir William Chester, Mayor of London, and the principal magistrates were obliged to procure a supply of wheat and rye from the continent; by which means the citizens were greatly relieved from the calamity.

On Wednesday, the 4th of June, there fell a prodigious quantity of rain, attended with dreadful claps of thunder. St. Paul's steeple was struck by a thunderbolt, within a yard of the top: at first a little fire appeared, resembling the light of a torch, which so soon communicated itself to the weather-cock, that it fell down in eight minutes after; the wind being high, within an hour, the fire destroyed the whole steeple, down to the battlements; there, receiving the timber that fell from the spire, it burnt so violently, that the iron and bells were melted, and fell down upon the stairs in the church; and the roof catching fire, was entirely destroyed before twelve o'clock at night: to stop its progress, many houses were pulled down in the church-yard, near the north-door; and a pinnacle, on the east-end, fell on a house, in which were many people, but luckily no one received any hurt.

In the year 1563, the plague again broke out violently in London; and, on the 5th of July, the lord mayor, by her majesty's command, ordered the master and wardens of the company of clerks to inquire the number of those who died of this dreadful distemper within their respective parishes, and to make a certificate thereof; and that the curates and churchwardens should give notice to them of such houses where the plague appeared, and to forbid every person in such a house coming to church for the space of one month following after the plague had been in it; and to fix a blue cross on the door of every house where the plague was, with a writing underneath, signifying that the infection was there, and to avoid it. It was farther ordered, on the 9th of July, that every housekeeper, in each street or lane, should make bonfires three times a week, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, till the infection should cease. In the beginning of August the lord mayor issued a proclamation for killing all dogs that should be found in the streets either by night or day. The number of people that died in this year in the hundred and eight parishes within the city of London, was twenty thousand three hundred and seventy-two; whereof seventeen thousand four hundred and four died of the plague;

and in the eleven out parishes the whole number of deaths amounted to three thousand two hundred and eighty-eight, and of these, two thousand seven hundred and thirty-two died of the plague.

In addition to this dreadful evil, the citizens of London were also afflicted with a temporary stoppage in the Flemish trade, which involved them in great pecuniary embarrassments.

The ingenious author of the Present State of England, quoted before, says, that "the first *making* of knives in England was begun in this year (1563), by one Thomas Mathews, on Fleet-bridge, in London. But this is an erroneous assertion, and, as is probable, was only a new branch of the manufacture, since Sheffield was famous for knives in the days of Chaucer; who says, in his Reve's Tale, "A Sheffield whittle (knife) bare he in his hose."

The English company of Merchant-Adventurers, who had prevailed on Edward VI. to revoke the privileges of the Anseatic Company, obtained, in the year 1564, a charter from Queen Elizabeth, which constituted them a corporation or body politic. She hereby granted them a common seal, perpetual succession, liberty to purchase lands, and to exercise their government in any part of England. In this charter, however, was the following clause: "But if any freeman of this company shall marry a wife from beyond sea, in a foreign country, or shall hold lands, tenements, or hereditaments, in Holland, Zealand, Brabant, Flanders, Germany, or other places near adjoining, he shall be, *ipso facto*, disfranchised of and from the said fellowship of Merchant-Adventurers, and be utterly excluded from the fellowship thereof."

This year, an act of common-council was passed, in which it was ordained, That all such citizens as should thenceforth be constrained to sell their household goods, leases of houses, or such-like, should first cause the same to be cried through the city by a man with a bell, and then to be sold by the common outcrier appointed for that purpose; and he to receive one farthing in the pound for his trouble.

At the earnest request of the armourers, part of the ceremony of the city-watch was this year renewed, on St. Peter's eve; "which," says Howes, "did only stand in the highest streets, as Cheape, Cornehill, and so foorth, to Algate; which watch was, to the commons of the citie, as chargeable, as when, in times past, it hadde beene commendablie done."

On the 20th of September, there was a great flood in the river Thames, by which all the adjacent marshes were overflowed, and many cattle drowned. And on the 21st of December, a frost began, which was so severe, that, by New-year's-day, all sorts of diversions were practised upon the ice, and the Thames was more crowded with foot-passengers, than the most public street in London.

END OF VOL. I.

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